

ANNUAL REPORT



የምንፈልጋቸው ስህተት ጽድቅ

Destiny Ethiopia

FOUR
SCENARIO
OF POSSIBLE
FUTURES: 2040



19
20



Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

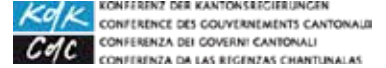
THE FORUM OF FEDERATIONS IS SUPPORTED BY:



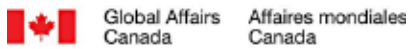
Brazil:
Presidency of the Republic



European Union:
European Development Fund



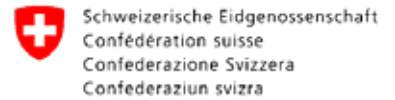
Switzerland:
Conference of Cantonal Governments



Canada:
Global Affairs Canada



Germany:
Federal Ministry of the Interior,
Building and Community



Switzerland:
Federal Department of
Justice and Police



Quebec:
Secrétariat du Québec aux relations
canadiennes, GoQ



Ireland:
Department of Foreign Affairs



Switzerland:
Swiss Development Cooperation



Denmark:
Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Netherlands:
Ministry for Trade and Development
Cooperation



UK:
Department for International
Development



Ethiopia:
House of Federation

The Forum of Federations, the global network on federalism and multi-level governance, supports better governance through learning among practitioners and experts.

Active on six continents, it runs programs in over 20 countries, including established federations and countries transitioning to devolved and decentralized forms of governance.

The following partner countries are members of the Forum: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, Nigeria, Pakistan and Switzerland.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MESSAGE FROM THE FORUM OF FEDERATIONS	4
BOARD OF DIRECTORS	5
FORUM STAFF	7
WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO	9
POLICY PROGRAMS	13
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS	21
PUBLICATIONS AND MULTIMEDIA	39

MESSAGE FROM THE FORUM OF FEDERATIONS

During 2019-20, the Forum continued to pursue objectives established in its current Strategic Plan and has continued to build on its work from the previous year. The Forum has invested significant resources in building programs which strengthen inclusive and responsive governance, including pluralism and gender equality, in countries of engagement.

The Forum continues to invest in knowledge exchange on issues which are priorities for the organization's partner countries. For example, in collaboration with the University of Bern, an international conference on the role of the Ständerat, the Swiss Council of States, was held in Bern in the summer. As part of its work on climate change and multi-level governance, a series of knowledge exchange events took place at the margin of the Forum's international conference on climate change held in Montreal in September 2019. In November 2019, the Forum partnered with the Bundesrat and the German Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community to celebrate and reflect on the 70 years of the German Basic Law.

The Forum also launched a number of new initiatives. In Ethiopia, a cutting-edge intervention in the innovative area of Transformational Scenario Planning was launched to complement our ongoing activities. The first phase of this project culminated in a historic moment in which all Ethiopian parties and stakeholders pledged to work together for the good of the country following the elections. The Forum's new program in Nepal supports the development of intergovernmental institutions. The Forum's first ever intervention in Cyprus aimed to raise awareness about various federal solutions for Cyprus as part of the UN mediated peace process. Finally, in Cuba, training was provided to senior government officials to support the country's nascent fiscal and administrative decentralization process. The Cuban government has expressed its desire to collaborate on more trainings in the future.

During this past year, the Forum's programming continued to have a demonstrable impact in countries in which it has a long-established presence. In Myanmar, the Government of Canada extended the Forum's program to build on the success of the past eight years of activities with a focus on supporting inclusive governance in the country. The Forum's MENA gender program in Tunisia, Morocco and Jordan continued to implement hundreds of events,

training sessions, workshops, and creative teaching simulations. As the talented women who participated in Forum training apply their acquired knowledge as elected officials and community leaders, they have started sharing their successes with their peers and online. Some of these remarkable stories are highlighted in this report.

Further, a host of new knowledge products were developed and published this year to enrich discussions on federal governance, from a report on apex intergovernmental relations (IGR) commissioned by the World Bank, to multiple occasional papers authored by leading world scholars, learning videos, and a thematic volume on Public Security in Federal Polities. The Forum distributed this body of work to a broad audience using new online tools to maximize reach and impact. This year refinements were made to the Forum's corporate results-based management system, and in our new Results Report we compare the results data from 2019-20 to the baseline data from last year. This will enable the organization to better understand its progress towards its strategic goals, build on its strengths and take action to overcome any emerging challenges.

As 2020 began, the COVID-19 crisis hit the globe. The unprecedented measures imposed by governments around the world to control the virus presented a significant obstacle to Forum programming. However, the Forum has adapted swiftly. As in-person activities became unworkable, the Forum has shifted to an online delivery strategy, including webinars, podcasts, and videos. The pandemic has been a catalyst for the organization to review its products and distribution methods, as well as the impetus to explore new modes of engagement with our stakeholders. We take this opportunity to thank our partner governments for their continued support for the organization and its work, and to our committed, wonderful staff for their dedication.



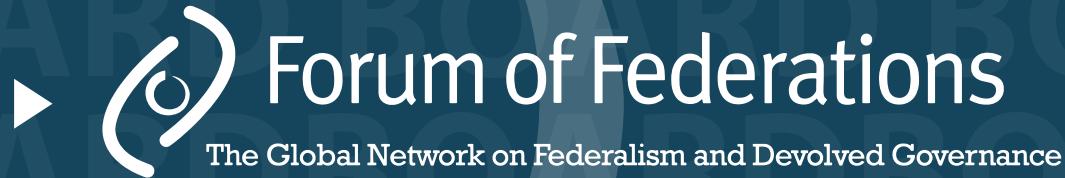
Georg Milbradt

Georg Milbradt
Chairman of the Board
of Directors



Rupak Chattopadhyay

Rupak Chattopadhyay
President and CEO



BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Georg Milbradt

Chairman
Former Minister President, Free State of Saxony, Germany

Salma Siddiqui

Vice-Chair
Entrepreneur and Community Activist, Canada

Hans Altherr

Former President of the Senate of Switzerland

Irwin Cotler

Former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

Julius Ihonvbere

Secretary to the Government of Edo State, former Special Advisor to the Nigerian President

Ana Carolina Lorena

Advisor for International Affairs, Secretariat for Federative Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil

Roger Wilkins

Former Secretary of the Attorney General's Department, Australia

Saleem Mandviwalla

Deputy Chairman of the Senate of Pakistan

FORUM STAFF

HEADQUARTERS - OTTAWA

Rupak Chattopadhyay

President and CEO

Charles Cloutier

Chief Operating Officer

Sheela Embounou

Vice President

Felix Knüpling (Germany Office)

Vice President

Diana Chebenova

Senior Director

John Light

Senior Director

Shawn Houlihan

Senior Director, Africa

Phillip Gonzalez

Director, Asia and Australia

Liam Whittington

Organizational Development Officer

Olakunle Adeniran

Project Officer

Driss Boutakhoust

Finance Officer and Accountant

Donna Duffett

Senior Project Officer

Elizabeth Lisa Nganwa

Project Officer

Fauziah Pruner

Finance Officer

Chris Randall

Network Manager

George Stairs

Project Officer

BRAZIL

Constantino Cronemberger Mendes

Country Coordinator

ETHIOPIA

Maeregu Habtemariam

Kazentet

Director, East Africa Region

Aynekulu Desta

Director of Finance and Administration

Genet Adem

Gender Specialist

Emebet Ayelign

Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist

Medhanit Teklu Dibaba

Administration and Financial Officer

Yakob Bekele

Senior Program Manager

Sosena Mulatu

Gender Specialist

Fikirte Debebe

Office Attendant

Endale Girma

Facilitator

Negusu Aklilu

Program Coordinator

Mesfin Getachew

Deputy Program Coordinator

Wondosen Sintayehu

Deputy Program Coordinator

Selamawit Amdemariam

Admin & Finance Officer

INDIA

Vikas Kumar

Program Manager

JORDAN

Sawsan Tawil

Country Director

Tala Khrais

Senior Project Manager

Haneen Mraiyan

Project Officer

MOROCCO

Hayat Lahbaili
Country Director

Younes EL Allaoui
Project Officer

Ajakane Mohamed
Project Assistant

MYANMAR

Htet Min Lwin
Country Director

Tun Min Oo
Program Manager

Thiha Wint Aung
Program Officer

Khaing Kyaw Moe
Senior Trainer

Chit Oo Ko Ko
Senior Communications Officer

Myat Myat Thu
Finance Officer

Sandeep Shastri
Lead Trainer

Thoon Thadar Nwe
Program Associate

Francis Kok-Wah Loh
Lead Expert

Win Paing Oo
Intern

Yin Myo Thu
Program Officer

NEPAL

Sagar Manandhar
Program Manager

TUNISIA

Leila Haououi-Khouni
Regional Director, MENA

Ikram Mechlaoui
Project Officer

Inès Dhifallah
Project Officer

INTERNS/SUMMER STUDENTS

- **Hamed Kazemzadeh** • Ottawa
- **Snit Abrha** • Ethiopia
- **Maha Elkhir** • Ethiopia
- **Samantha Nixon** • Ottawa
- **Carrington Knight** • Jordan

- **Anna Heath** • Morocco
- **Oumaima El Karafi** • Morocco
- **Étienne Côté Vaillant** • Morocco
- **Yolande Mindjongo** • Ottawa
- **Elphine Onsongo** • Ottawa

- **Moritz Piepel** • Ottawa
- **Ozan Ayata** • Ottawa
- **Nathan Russell** • Ottawa
- **Reem Al Ameri** • Ottawa

SENIOR ADVISORS

- **Sujit Choudhry**
- **Fatima Guerreiro**
- **André Juneau**

- **André Lecours**
- **Neophytos Loizides**

- **Rekha Saxena**
- **Franklin Leslie Seidle**



▶ WHO WE ARE AND
WHAT WE DO

WHO WE ARE

The Forum of Federations is an international organization that develops and shares comparative expertise on the practice of federal and decentralized governance through a global network.

The Forum is concerned with the contribution that federalism and multi-level governance can make to the development of inclusive, pluralistic, and responsive governance systems. The Forum supports governments around the world to help develop governance solutions in multi-level systems. The organization's core area of specialization is federalism. However, Forum expertise is increasingly sought across the range of multi-level systems, including in decentralized and devolved countries.

The Forum is truly international in nature, working with stakeholders at all levels in countries in North and South America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australasia.

THE MISSION OF THE FORUM

The mission of the Forum is to strengthen inclusive and responsive governance, including pluralism and gender equality, in federal, decentralized, and transitioning countries.

The Forum's work in federal and multi-level governance contributes to enhancing the quality and coherence of public policy, thereby improving the effectiveness of both public service delivery and implementation of national, regional, and local development strategies. Its capacity building work covers many aspects of multi-level governance and reaches a wide range of stakeholders, facilitating the development, transfer, application, and sharing of knowledge at all levels of society. The Forum's activities support national, regional, and international development efforts to create more inclusive and peaceful societies with responsive governments that meet the needs of citizens. The Forum also assists in democratic consolidation in states or regions in post-conflict situations.

THE FORUM ADVANTAGE: HANDS-ON EXPERIENCE AND HIGH LEVEL EXPERTISE

The Forum has a practical, problem-solving approach to achieving results. Since its founding two decades ago, it has supported governments and citizens around the world through capacity building and the provision of expertise and impartial practical education.

The Forum brings the world's leading experts together with the "practitioners" of government: elected officials, civil servants, political operatives. The Forum's direct relationship with governments on each continent makes it uniquely placed to promote intergovernmental learning by working in tandem with its partner governments.

Alongside its work with key governance practitioners, the Forum also supports civil society stakeholders. Working through its extensive network of local partners, the Forum provides knowledge and learning to facilitate the participation of civil society in the multi-level governance processes which impact their lives.

Our Core Principle: "Learning from Each Other"

The comparative methodology utilized by the Forum in the implementation of its activities is based on the core principle of "Learning from Each Other." Bridging the worlds of academic research and real-world practice, the Forum approach leverages the synergies between its Policy and Development Assistance activities to continuously inform and renew its body of cutting edge intellectual capital on multi-level governance.



THE HISTORY OF THE FORUM

The Forum was established by the Government of Canada. The inaugural International Conference on Federalism held in 1999 at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada led to the founding of the Forum as an institution based in Ottawa. Four consecutive International Conferences were subsequently held in Switzerland, Belgium, India, and Ethiopia.

Following the 2005 Conference held in Brussels, a number of countries joined the Forum as funding partners, establishing it as a membership-based international organization.

As of 2020 ten governments had signed agreements as partners of the Forum, supporting the activities of the organization and providing expertise, with representation on the Forum's Strategic Council and Board of Directors.

These countries are Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Switzerland. Over the years the Forum has expanded the scope of its work from established federal countries to include nation states in post-conflict situations adopting federal forms of governance and those involved in processes of devolution and decentralization. Growth led to the expansion of the organization to a number of countries around the world. As of March 2020, the Forum had field offices and/or representation in Brazil, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Jordan, Morocco, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, and Tunisia





THE FORUM IN ACTION

The Forum's unique global network of experts can be swiftly mobilized to provide expert counsel and support to countries tackling acute governance problems. The Forum has been active in more than twenty countries since its establishment in 1999.

Through its work in 2019-20, the Forum has:

- Assisted in democracy-building in fragile and post-conflict states through institution building and local empowerment;
- Fostered the development of inclusive societies by supporting stakeholders to find common ground through dialogue;
- Enhanced public service delivery by providing civil servants with the tools and knowledge to implement effective federal and decentralized multi-level government;
- Empowered women to participate in governance processes through training and networking activities;
- Facilitated knowledge development and transfer in a range of governance topics, including: Territorial Cleavages; Intergovernmental Relations; Federalism and Education, Local Governments and Metropolitan Regions;
- Developed and produced a range of publications and multimedia content on principles, practices, and experiences of federal and devolved governance.





▶ THE FORUM IN NUMBERS

5.9 Million

Visitors:
website/twitter/facebook pages

79.5%

Of stakeholders in Annual Stakeholder Survey indicated that they had “Used what [they] had learned as a result of [their] involvement in Forum activities and/or exposure to Forum content in [their] work or role”

52.25%

Female participants in total Forum activity

3,603

Individuals with leadership potential
trained by the Forum

243

Learning activities implemented

8

books

40

papers

54

audiovisual products

POLICY PROGRAMS 2019-20

Forum Policy Programs aim to promote understanding of thematic or sectoral multi-level governance issues and deliver innovative solutions in federal, decentralized, and devolved countries. They facilitate knowledge exchange on topical public policy questions and concerns related to the management, reform, and development of federal and decentralized systems. These programs continually build a comparative body of knowledge on contemporary, usually structural, themes of federal and decentralized governance. The work generated through the Policy Program informs the Forum's Development Assistance Programs.

In fiscal year 2019-20 a new federalism and language Policy Program was initiated, and work on the multi-year programs initiated previously continued. Activities included the organization and delivery of workshops, seminars, study visits, conferences, and presentations, as well as the provision of expert advice and the development and production of publications, learning tools and knowledge products.

20 activities implemented across 7 different countries around the world



14 new partner organizations engaged



606 direct beneficiaries of Policy Program activities

This year, the Forum and its partners developed and implemented 20 Policy Program activities in seven different countries. These programs directly addressed the multi-level governance priorities of four Forum member countries. A wide range of partner institutions were engaged in the development and delivery of its Policy Programs, 14 of which collaborated with the Forum for the first time.

The primary beneficiaries of Policy Program activities were government officials, parliamentarians, CSO representatives, academic experts and students from Forum partner countries and other federal and decentralized nations. Approximately 606 stakeholders benefited from Policy Program activities.

19 new knowledge products created

The Forum and its partners created 19 new knowledge products in 2019-20: one thematic book, fifteen papers and three videos. Work was also undertaken on updating one thematic book on fiscal federalism, currently scheduled for publication in 2020-21.

The Forum's Policy Programs are grouped into three thematic categories:

- **Governance & Service Delivery:** Programs that address policy issues such as Education, Public Security, Health Care, Intergovernmental Relations, Fiscal Relations and Revenue Sharing, Local Government, and Centralization vs. Decentralization.
- **Environment:** Programs that address environmental issues in areas such as Climate Change, Natural Resource Management, and Water Management.
- **Constitutional Issues and Diversity & Inclusion:** Programs that address multi-level governance structures and participation in governance such as Constitutional Interpretation, Constitutional Reform, Gender Equality, Territorial Cleavages, Indigenous Policies, Youth, Minority Rights, and Language.

GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Intergovernmental Relations

In cooperation with the Swiss Senate and the University of Bern, the Forum organized a national conference “The Role of the Swiss Senate – Historical Artefact or Institution of the Future?”. Held in Bern, Switzerland on June 28, 2019, the conference examined the role of the Swiss Senate and the Council of States in Swiss federalism. Various actors involved in Swiss politics and academia were convened with the aim of discussing options for reform of the Senate. The presentation of comparative experiences - Germany and Austria - provided insights as to the practice and effectiveness of these case studies. The conference papers will be published by NZZ publishers in the coming year.

Centralization and Decentralization in Federations

The Forum partnered with the James Madison Charitable Trust For the Study of Federal Systems, and the University of Kent for the second phase of the “Why Centralization and Decentralization in Federations?” project. Phase two examines the flow and trends of centralization/ decentralization in Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan. A workshop to discuss the course of the project and refine its scope and focus was held at the University of Kent (UKC), Canterbury, United Kingdom, on 12-13 July 2019 under Professor Paolo Dardanelli and Johanna Schnabel of UKC. The workshop outcome strengthened the “De/Centralization Dataset” (The De/Centralization Dataset (DcD) is a product of the three-year research project *Why Centralization and DeCentralization in Federations? A Comparative Analysis*. <https://de-centralization.org/>) Project results will be presented at the International Political Science Association Congress in Lisbon, Portugal, in summer 2020.

Public Security

As part of its ongoing federalism program with North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany’s largest state, the Forum co-organized a private roundtable on “Federalism and Public Security,” which took place in Berlin on November 14, 2019. The event, which was attended by approximately 30 public security and federalism experts, drew on the Forum’s comparative work on “Public Security in Federal Polities” and the resulting volume recently published by Toronto University Press.

Secretary of State from North Rhine-Westphalia, Dr. Mark Speich, and Professor Georg Milbradt, Chairman of the Forum of Federations, inaugurated the roundtable. André Duvillard, delegate to the Swiss Security Network (SSN), explained the division of competences of police and security authorities in Switzerland, the special coordinating function of the SSN, and how the SSN developed into a critical player in the security architecture of Switzerland. The discussion demonstrated that Germany and Switzerland are facing very similar challenges but developed different policy approaches and solutions.

Dieter Schürmann, general-commissioner of North Rhine-Westphalia’s law enforcement agency, elaborated on the divergent perception of public security tasks in Germany. He advocated for strong police forces at the local level, but – in the face of increasing challenges posed by digital and cross-border crime – called for the need to focus on core police issues, and to develop more effective forms of cooperation between agencies and levels of government. According to Mr. Schürmann, increased European integration will trigger more collaboration between Germany’s States and the federal government. Following up on Mr. Duvillard’s presentation about Switzerland, Sebastian Fiedler, Chairman of the Federal Association of Police Officers in Germany, argued for increased horizontal cooperation between Germany’s States (through formal treaties or agreements), and vertical cooperation between the federal government and the States. The discussion showed that digitization, in particular, brings considerable pressure for reform of the federal security architecture.

Federalism and Education

As part of its Federalism and Education program, the Forum produced two papers that examine how India and Malaysia design, govern, finance, and assure quality in their educational systems. The studies focused on the functional division of responsibilities between governmental layers of the federal system and the mechanisms of intergovernmental cooperation in education. The Forum used these products as training material in its Development Assistance Program in Myanmar.

Fiscal Federalism

In 2019-20 the Forum started updating its 2006 book “The Practices of Fiscal Federalism.” The new volume, covers 13 country cases and is concerned with the practice of fiscal federalism and the assignment of taxation, expenditure, and regulatory responsibilities to various orders of government. The book, edited by Professor Jean-Francois Tremblay of the University of Ottawa, will be published in early 2021.

Federalism and Language Policy

The Forum initiated a new comparative Policy Program on Language Policy and Federal/Decentralized Governance. The program will examine the impact of federal governance on policy making and the implementation of language policies in multilingual federal/decentralized countries. In 2019-20, the Forum focused on the conceptualization of the program and identifying partner organizations.



ENVIRONMENT



Climate Change

Funded by the Government of Quebec

As part of its ongoing comparative program on Climate Change and Federal Governance, the Forum, alongside its partners the Université de Québec à Montréal and the Secrétariat du Québec aux relations Canadiennes, hosted a Canadian roundtable discussion and an international conference on Climate Change and Federal Governance. Both events took place in Montreal, Canada, from 12 – 14 September 2019. Over 35 experts and practitioners, ranging from academics to provincial and federal policy makers, participated in the discussions.

Professors Kathryn Harrison of the University of British Columbia and Jason McLean of the University of Saskatchewan inaugurated the Canadian roundtable on September 12. They presented the current state of play in Canadian climate policy and highlighting some of the ongoing “policy puzzles” facing lawmakers at multiple levels of governance. From there, participants addressed climate change policy topics ranging from provincial government objectives/cooperation to current challenges and conflicts within the Canadian federal system. The closing session was moderated by project co-editor Sebastien Jodoin of McGill University, and Mr. Chris Ragan, Chair of the Canadian Ecofiscal Commission, and discussed ways for the federal government and the provinces to overcome coordination challenges and conflicts.

Over the next two days, participants from over a dozen countries across six continents presented the preliminary findings of their research on country case studies. The topics covered both the federal/decentralized arrangements in place in their respective countries, as well as the challenges and adaptation measures that have been adopted. The discussions that followed the author presentations centred around the direction of the project and cross-cutting themes across case studies.

The program’s ultimate objective is to increase the comparative knowledge and understanding of climate change governance and policies in federal and decentralized countries and provide critical insights on the challenges in policy development, innovation, and implementation. The program features 14 case studies, featuring Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Ethiopia, European Union, Germany, India, Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AND DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

Gender Equality and Federalism

Gender inequality is a complex challenge that manifests itself in a variety of policy domains socially, culturally and historically. Its pervasive and enduring existence across societies has generated countless studies creating a rich field of knowledge on the subject. In 2019-20 the Forum continued a research project initiated in the previous year on the dynamics between gender equality and federal and decentralized governance. Led by Dr. Christine Forster of the University of New South Wales, the project aims to contribute to the field of knowledge and provide insights to inform policy making. The project analyzes the complex dynamics of gender equality and federal/decentralized governance models and identifies key theoretical and empirical learning from the existing evidence base. The study is close to completion and will be published by the Forum in the summer of 2020. The findings will inform future Forum programming in both the Policy Program and Development Assistance Program area.

Immigrant Integration

The Forum participated in the 2019 International Metropolis Conference in Ottawa, Canada, from June 24 to 28, 2019. The Forum organized two workshops during Metropolis. The first, entitled “Addressing The Refugee Crisis: The Nexus Between Migration and International Aid”, was hosted in partnership with the Association for Canadian Studies. Jack Jedwab, President of the Association, and Kauren Baudson, senior analyst at Global Affairs Canada, examined how migration can cost and benefit countries of origin, and the development aid programs and policies that address these impacts. The second workshop, entitled “Migrant Integration in Cities: Learning Through Networks” explored how, in a climate that is often less welcoming to migrants than in the past, cities are innovating and providing examples of good practice. Leslie Seidle, Senior Forum Advisor, Irene Guidikova, Founder of the Council of Europe Intercultural Cities, and Kim Turner, Senior Research Associate at the Global Diversity Exchange, examined these issues. The Forum also prepared a special publication for the conference, written by Leslie Seidle and entitled “Migrant Integration in Cities: Learning from Others.” Metropolis organizers distributed this Occasional Paper to all Metropolis participants.

Minority Rights

In the framework of a study tour coordinated and organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Forum Vice President Felix Knüpling met a delegation from Mindanao (the Philippines) on October 14 in Berlin, Germany, to discuss issues around German federalism and potential lessons for the Philippines.

In January 2019, the region of Bangsamoro adopted the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL), therein establishing the autonomous political entity known as the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region. Ever since then, the Bangsamoro region has been in the process of establishing a regional government. As the first official elections will take place in 2022, the regional authorities face a three-year transition period to establish governmental structures. This study program for the Philippines delegation provided firsthand knowledge of the German federal system and national and regional legislators’ interactions with civil society. In his presentation, Mr. Knüpling touched upon core topics such as the historical background of German federalism, the relevance of the Basic Law, the structure and importance of the Bundesrat, and the interaction and political dynamics between elected and civil society groups.

The study tour took place in Brussels and Berlin from 13 – 20 October 2019. Representatives from the regional government of Bangsamoro, as well as civil society actors, comprised the delegation. The Forum’s recently completed programs in the Philippines worked with government and civil society actors, providing training and education to increase understanding and the capacity to articulate alternate governance options for the Philippines.

Unity and Diversity

The Forum supported the annual conference of the International Association of Centres of Federal Studies that convened in Speyer, Germany, on 17-18 October 2019. The conference’s theme was “Unity and Diversity of Civil Service in Federal and Unitary/Decentralized Countries.” The objective was to collect systematic information on the ‘uniformity’ and ‘variety’ of public employment relations in federal and decentralized countries, their intergovernmental institutions, and actual problems and political reforms. Felix Knüpling, the Forum’s Vice President of Programs, gave a presentation on the Forum’s work in this area.

Constitutional Reform

Germany: 70 years of the Basic Law

Funded by the Government of Germany

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Basic Law, the Forum organized an international conference on 4 and 5 November 2019, in Berlin, Germany that addressed contemporary issues of German federalism. Since German unification, there have been significant reforms with far-reaching amendments to the Basic Law. The German federal state has had to repeatedly adapt to changing framework conditions as a result of this. While the unique, historically developed federalism model has not been fundamentally revised, federalism in Germany has continually proven to be versatile and adaptable. In this context, the conference asked whether the current federal model will be ready for the challenges of the future or whether there is a need for further reforms, including those that modify the Basic Law.

Based on a review of significant developments in the German federal state, particularly against the background of important constitutional reforms, as well as an appraisal of the current situation, the conference aimed to discuss the change and constancy of German federalism on the one hand, and its efficiency and future viability on the other. The objective was to foster interdisciplinary perspectives and to facilitate dialogue between science and practice.

The conference further broadened the German debate to include international perspectives: How is German federalism internationally perceived? What can we learn from other federal states for the challenges that lie ahead? The event was divided into three interrelated content blocks: Review and reflection: 70 years Basic Law – versatility and adaptability; Stocktaking and analysis of current political challenges based on selected policy fields: Education, domestic security, integration; and Dialogue between science and practice about future perspectives.

A public panel discussion followed the thematic sessions, on “70 years of Basic Law – Do we need Another Round of Federalism Reform?”, attended by around 120 participants. Panellists included Professor Dr. Sujit Choudhry, Visiting Researcher at the WZB Social Science Centre, Professor Dr. Hans Hofmann, Head of Department, Federal Ministry of the

Interior, Building and Community, Professor Dr h.c. Gertrüde Lübke-Wolff, a former judge at the Federal Constitutional Court, Professor Dr. Sabine Kropp, Free University of Berlin, and Professor. Dr. Carsten Kühn, former Minister of Finance of the State of Rhineland-Palatinate. Albert Funk from the Berliner daily Der Tagesspiegel facilitated the discussion.

Exploring Federal Models for Cyprus

On November 11, 2019, the Forum, in collaboration with the High Commission of Canada, held an event exploring the potential of federal models in the development of a settlement to the Cyprus conflict in Nicosia, Cyprus, attended by skeptics and supporters of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in Cyprus.

Using comparative international perspectives, Forum experts addressed three themes of particular relevance in the current Cyprus context: 1. security architectures of federal systems; 2. the role of courts in the protection of minority rights in federal systems, and; 3. the role and practice of local government in federal systems. The approximately fifty-five participants included politicians, academics, lawyers, journalists, civil society and business people from the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of Mission of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) Elizabeth Spehar emphasized the importance of increasing understanding among stakeholders in Cyprus of how federal systems around the world operate to ameliorate conflict and foster secure, peaceful and diverse societies.

Discussion focused on the range of options that federal governance architectures provide to policymakers and how federal systems and their institutions are tailored to the specific and unique circumstances of a nation. Participants commented on the need for increased understanding among Cypriots on the makeup and implementation of federal governance, as many stakeholders on the island view it as an inflexible and highly structured form of state organization. Attendees emphasized that there is a need in Cyprus for more information on the practice of federalism. Furthermore, this information must be communicated effectively and as broadly as possible to all stakeholders on the island.

Territorial Cleavages

The Forum organized two launch events for its Territorial Cleavages program:

Forum at Geneva Peace Week

On November 8, 2019, the Forum, International IDEA and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation held a panel discussion on “Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions” during the Geneva Peace Week. The panellists discussed how to settle territorial disputes through constitutional accommodation and how decentralized governance can contribute to consolidating peace, as well as the challenges and potential pitfalls. The presentations drew on the knowledge and lessons derived from multi-year comparative project on the subject jointly implemented by the Forum, International IDEA, Centre for Constitutional Transitions, and Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation.

Rupak Chattopadhyay, President and CEO of the Forum, introduced the rationale of the project. Sumit Bisarya, Head of Constitution Building Programme at International IDEA, commented on the relevance of the project in peace processes around the world, and specifically in the case of South Sudan. Sujit Choudhry, Director of the Center for Constitutional Transitions, a researcher at the WZB Berlin School of Social Sciences and a Senior Advisor of the Forum, presented the main project findings, lessons learned, and recommendations. Subsequently, Bryony Lau, an expert on conflict in Southeast Asia, commented on how the results can be applied in the Philippines’ case, speaking specifically about the quest for autonomy by the Muslim region of Mindanao. Surya Dhungel, former constitutional advisor to the President of Nepal and Senior Advisor of the Forum, reflected on the constitutional process in Nepal, leading to the country’s federalization. Finally, Andrea Iff, Thematic Advisor, Thematic Unit Democratization, Decentralization and Local Government, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, considered the lessons learned by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, highlighting three factors for the success of constitutional transitions: local ownership; political and economic inclusion; and being humble in these processes. Diana Chebenova, Forum Senior Director, facilitated the event.

Support to the Peace Process in Myanmar

The Forum and International IDEA held a 2-day training on territory and power in Yangon, Myanmar, on September 9-10, 2019. Participants included members of the Union Peace and Dialogue Joint Committee (UPDJC), supporting Myanmar’s peace process. George Anderson and Sujit Choudry, the two editors of the Territorial Cleavages compendium (one of the products of the research program), conducted the training.





▶ DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Fiscal and Administrative Decentralization

Funded by the Government of Canada



Challenge

Cuba is currently undertaking reforms in the political, economic and administrative spheres with the aim of building a more decentralized governance system which can better accommodate the social and economic change which the country has experienced over the past two decades. The Cuban state has been strongly centralized since the revolution, and there is a dearth of knowledge about federalism, territorial autonomy, and devolved governance. The challenges of implementing the reforms specified in the new Cuban Constitution on the territorial structuring of the state are considerable. It is in this context that the Forum received a request for cooperation from the Government of Cuba on the issue of fiscal and administrative decentralization. As the process of decentralization is in a nascent phase, there is a need for experience sharing among Cuban stakeholders to increase their knowledge and awareness of different aspects of decentralization processes. Through increasing their understanding of these processes, the stakeholders will acquire the capacity to make informed decisions about different aspects of fiscal and administrative decentralization.

In 2019-20 the Forum implemented a short term program that aimed at building the capacity of Cuban

key governance stakeholders on theoretical and practical principles of fiscal and administrative decentralization. Funded by the Government of Canada, the program deployed three experts to Cuba in October 2019 to deliver workshops on different aspects of multi-level governance to a group of 29 Cuban key governance stakeholders. The experts included scholars and practitioners from Mexico, Argentina and Canada.

Program Objectives

The program aimed ultimately to contribute to a strengthened fiscal and administrative decentralization process in Cuba. This would be achieved through fostering enhanced decision making on fiscal and administrative decentralization among key governance stakeholders. Program activities improved the ability of the stakeholders to make these decisions through:

1. Increasing knowledge of key governance stakeholders on theoretical principles and practical experiences of fiscal and administrative decentralization.
2. Increasing awareness of key governance stakeholders of decentralization issues requiring further analysis and study in the Cuban context.

Theory of change

The project fostered the improved decision making necessary to strengthen fiscal and administrative decentralization processes in Cuba through increasing the ability of key governance stakeholders to make better decisions via knowledge transfer. The beneficiaries consisted of key stakeholders in the Cuban government who are responsible for elaborating the Cuban decentralization process. It included members of the Permanent Commission for the Implementation of the Guidelines of Economic and Social Development, and a number of ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Relations, Ministry of Higher Education, Ministry of Finance and Prices, Ministry of Economy and Planning, National Office of Tax Administration, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment, and Ministry of Justice. Representatives of two provincial governments – Mayabeque and Artemisa – also participated, as well as a representative of the Cuban Federation of Women and academic experts from the University of La Habana. The participants possessed professional expertise in various areas, including local government, decentralization, public administration, finance, economics and law. As part of this process, the key governance stakeholders were also sensitized to salient gender aspects of fiscal and administrative decentralization, through a gender component included in all workshops. The knowledge transfer was realized through expert-led training activities and production of a Communique identifying salient issues and potential future action.

Story of Results Achieved

Participants indicated that they found the training activities to be very useful and pertinent, especially the comparative knowledge and comparative methods presented. They pointed out it is very timely for Cuban stakeholders to have access to references on how decentralization has been handled in other countries at the time when Cuba is designing its own processes. The participants commented that it would be very beneficial to continue these kinds of exchanges and identified a number of issues that would require further study and analysis in the Cuban context. The Forum team and the experts grouped these themes in 8 main issues and 24 sub-categories.



The number of issues identified indicates the depth and range of comparative expertise related to fiscal and administrative decentralization, and related issues, that is sought by Cuban stakeholders. In early 2020, the Forum received communication from the Government of Cuba requesting further support in developing its capacity in a number of specific areas of fiscal and administrative decentralization identified during the October 2019 intervention.

Highlights

The stakeholders identified the following positive aspects of the training:

- The presented experiences that can be implemented in the constitutional mandate in Cuba.
- Confirmation that the problem of local competences is similar in different countries.
- It is possible to learn from the examples of bad practices presented by the trainers in their countries, so as not to make the same mistakes in the Cuban context.

Statistics

3 one-day training workshops implemented with 29 participants (55% female participants and 45% male participants).

100% of participants stated that they would use what they learned during the training in decision making.

100% of participants demonstrated increased knowledge of fiscal and administrative decentralization issues, and increased awareness of key decentralization issues.

Strengthening Federal Governance and Pluralism in Ethiopia

Funded by the Government of Canada

Challenge

With support from the Government of Canada, the Forum continues to implement its “Strengthening Federal Governance and Pluralism in Ethiopia” (SFGPE) program, which runs from 2017-2022. This intervention addresses weaknesses in Ethiopia’s federal governance that were made dramatically apparent by massive public demonstrations starting in 2016.

Ethiopia adopted a federal system of governance in 1995. However, the country has been experiencing anti-government unrest since fall 2016. Even before the mass protests, close observers of Ethiopian federalism identified significant gaps in the operation of the federal system with regard to managing the growing complexities of the nation’s rapidly expanding economy and political demands for equity and good governance. The 2016 protests were an urgent signal that serious reforms would be required if federalism was going to play its intended roles of managing ethnic conflict (creating “unity in diversity”) and delivering good governance at local, state, and federal levels.

The rise of Abiy Ahmed to the premiership in April 2018 marked a major departure point for the country. His extremely ambitious political and economic reform agendas present significant challenges but also unprecedented opportunities for the Forum to help effect positive change. The opening up of political space to civil society and all opposition groups has coincided with widespread ethnic violence in several parts of the country, placing it in constant crisis mode. The postponement of elections initially scheduled for May 2020 - now indefinitely delayed amid the Covid-19 crisis - represents a big risk to the country’s stability. What has become apparent to all actors during this turmoil is the centrality of federal governance issues in finding any hope of long-term stability.

The SFGPE program directly addresses critical and strategic issues of accountable governance, peaceful pluralism, and respect for human rights, including women’s and girls’



rights. It assists in strengthening state-public relations to advance democracy and human rights. It aligns with the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goal 16 by focusing on peace, justice and building strong institutions. It also complements Ethiopia’s Growth and Transformation Plan II, which identifies the need to strengthen the parliamentary system, justice, peace, and respect for ethnic diversity.

Program Objectives

The Forum’s intervention ultimately aims to contribute to a strengthened and more responsive federal system for Ethiopian men and women. The project works in three key result areas to achieve its goal:

1. Enhanced, gender-sensitive management of intergovernmental relations by the governments of Ethiopia;
2. Improved inter-governmental fiscal relations that support gender-equitable development for men and women;
3. Increased understanding of the constitution by state actors and Ethiopian men and women regarding their rights and avenues of recourse.

Theory of change

This project addresses two areas in the development of federal governance in Ethiopia:

- 1) Building on the evolution of the system.
- 2) Addressing changes in how the government and the current ruling party manage federal-state, state-state, and state-society relations.

By focusing on these two dynamics, and building capacities for more open systems and public participation processes, the program will support the rebuilding of trust and faith in public institutions and, thereby, national cohesion. This rebuilt trust will be realized, sustained and maximized via the full integration of gender equality throughout the project.

Success Stories

Recognizing Gender Issues in the House of Federation

Ms. Semenesh Fekadu works in the Gender Directorate at the Ethiopian House of Federation (HoF). Ms. Semenesh's primary roles include institutionalizing and mainstreaming gender in all activities at the House through coordination and planning.

Before collaborating with the Forum, the House of Federation faced many gender issues and challenges to greater gender equality. A gender analysis conducted by the Forum found that gender equality and women's empowerment are not a priority issue for the upper house of the Ethiopian parliament. In fact, due to weak technical capacity, low levels of commitment and a poor attitude to gender equality, the House of Federation was not effectively mainstreaming gender.

Under the SFGPE program, the Forum organized a gender mainstreaming training in Bishoftu, Ethiopia. The event brought together 34 senior leaders and experts drawn from the House of Federation, Council of Constitutional Inquiry, Ministry of Women Children and Youth Affairs, the Ministry of Peace, as well as the Attorney General. The training aimed to increase participants' gender sensitivity, including the awareness of and appreciation for gender issues. As a recipient of gender mainstreaming training, Semenesh learned more about gender equality and equity than she had at any time previously.

She also attended several workshops, which benefited her work in different ways. She commented that the workshops exposed her to the practices used to identify issues affecting women's and girl's constitutional rights. The gender analysis workshop, which involved stakeholders such as the Deputy Speaker of the House and Standing Committee Chairpersons, provided her with a rare opportunity to discuss gender issues and gender mainstreaming activities related to constitutional interpretation, intergovernmental relations, and fiscal federalism.

The Forum training led to Ms. Semenesh directly strengthening gender sensitivity in the House of Federation. Using the knowledge gained from the training, the 2019-20 Annual Work Plan and budget for the House were reviewed from a gender perspective.

Ms. Semenesh says that change is underway to ensure accountability regarding gender mainstreaming at the HoF, and they are beginning to address the issues highlighted by the gender analysis. She and her staff's actions are bringing about demonstrable change at both the individual and organizational level of the HoF.

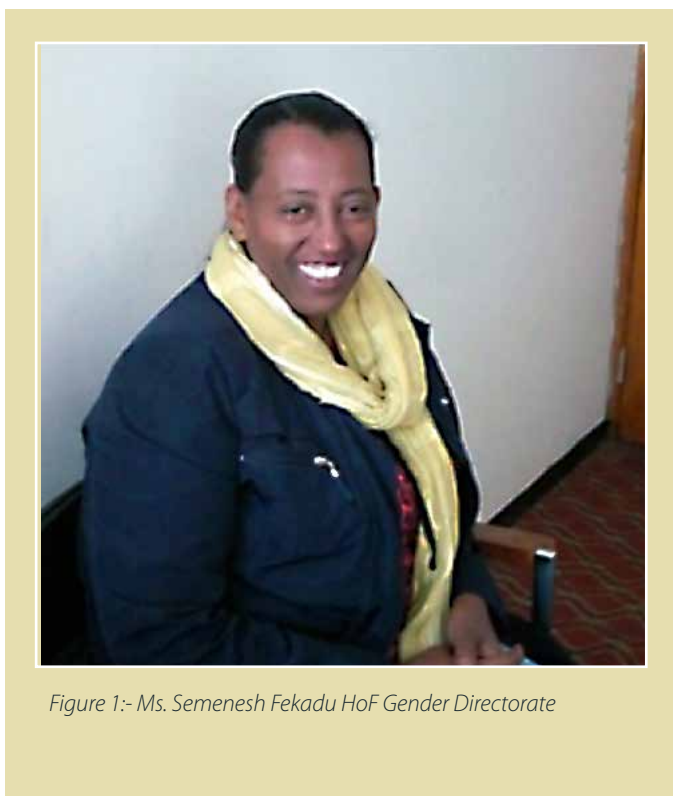


Figure 1:- Ms. Semenesh Fekadu HoF Gender Directorate

Federalism Leadership Training for Women Leaders

High government officials usually do not have time to attend extensive training programs due to their busy schedules in their routine work and political tasks. Hence, they are unable to access knowledge and experiences that can contribute to enhancing effective leadership. Attending this kind of training is very difficult in particular for women leaders due to their triple responsibility.

Under the SFGP project, the Forum made extensive communications and lobbies with officials and their supervisors both at federal and regional levels to provide a 5-day trainings on Federalism Leadership. 28 high-level women leaders participated in this training.

Two participants in the training, Mrs. Zimam Assefa, Advisor to the Office of the President of Amhara Regional State and Standing Committee member at the HoF, and Mrs. Tileksew Yitayal, Deputy Speaker of the Amhara Regional Council, convinced members of the regional cabinet to mobilize resources to provide the same training to 100 women leaders of Amhara Women's Federation.

Mrs. Zimam said: "The Federalism Leadership training taught me unforgettable leadership lessons such as DAC, boundary spanning and social identity which completely changed my way of thinking and acting as a leader. It was immediately after the training that I decided to share the learning with other women leaders in my region." Mrs. Tilksew commented: "This is my first time attending this kind of participatory and interactive training program. I have attended the training with great passion and attention. After the training, my leadership competence and style at work and home positively changed. This inspired me to organize similar training to help other women leaders acquire the knowledge and skills I have gained."

These testimonies indicate the importance and relevance of this kind of capacity building training for leaders at different levels.



Destiny Ethiopia: Transformative Scenario Planning Project

Funded by the Government of Ireland, The Government of the Netherlands, The Government of Denmark

Ethiopia currently stands at an unprecedented political crossroads. The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of four ethnic-based parties that had ruled the country since 1991, faced a major existential crisis with the mass protests of 2016. Abiy Ahmed's election as the new Chairman of the EPRDF, and subsequent confirmation as Prime Minister, set the stage for an unprecedented program of reform.

The ongoing uncertainty and fracturing of power in the country means Ethiopia shows incredible promise for progressive reform, while simultaneously being in one of the most precarious situations in its history. Violent conflicts, with major ethnic dimensions, are more and more widespread and easily triggered.

Overall, the diverse agendas of the key political actors in the country have resulted in a deep polarization of political debates. Indeed, this is also a symptom of the longstanding inability of the political elites to address fundamental national issues in such a way that creates a critical mass of consensus. Legitimacy is required to mitigate the country's structural fragility--the root of the constant threat of conflict. The issues are multifaceted and complex, and not well understood by the leading political actors and the population at large. The theme of federal governance runs through most debates and conflicts within society.

Transformative Scenario Planning (TSP) is a conflict management methodology designed explicitly for complex situations. In this approach, actors recognize that creating transformative change is not possible by one party alone with one-party solutions. Funded by the Foreign Ministries of The Netherlands, Ireland and the Kingdom of Denmark, and implemented in collaboration with Reos Partners - the core of TSP is the formation of a Scenario Team made up of a diverse group of 50 highly-influential political and social actors who together represent the whole system. In 2019-20, the Scenario Team, with the help of facilitators, identified the driving forces of the country's future and developed a set of four possible scenarios – Hegemony, Broken Chair, Divided House, and Dawn -- that could materialize in Ethiopia.

The four scenario narratives provide a tool for any and all leaders to identify and more clearly understand how their actions and decisions contribute to one or other of the scenarios – i.e. to enable them to better, more coherently understand how their actions will help push the country toward a negative or positive scenario.

Program Objectives

The program's goal is to help Ethiopia develop a political system capable of supporting inclusive, peaceful and democratic nation-building. The specific practical results of this process will be determined by the resultant actions of the project team, and then by the traction that their scenarios gain among wider political actors and processes. Generally, TSP will produce five key results:

1. First, it creates cross-system relationships: an experience by leading actors from across the system—including some locked in conflict—of working together constructively on complex shared concerns.
2. Second, it produces systemic understandings: a set of scenarios that illuminate and clarify the past, present, and possible futures of the system.
3. Third, it produces intentions that take account of the whole system: commitments, on the part of leading actors, about what they need to do in the light of these scenarios.
4. Fourth, it produces, in and among the participating actors, capacities for leading systemic change.
5. Fifth, it produces actions intended to transform the system: initiatives undertaken by these actors to create forward movement.

Theory of change

Transformative Scenarios processes start with a complex social issue that a diverse coalition of actors considers unsustainable or unacceptable, but that they cannot transform by working independently. These actors join others with different perspectives, to collectively understand the challenge and co-create the steps required to transform it. This process of realization and intent is already underway thanks to the efforts of the program.

Success Story

Launching Destiny Ethiopia Scenarios

On December 3, 2019 a team of leaders from across Ethiopian society launched four scenarios that depict possible futures of Ethiopia in 2040. The 50 prominent leaders from all across Ethiopian society stood on stage holding hands while reading a joint declaration in which they committed to working together to transform the future of Ethiopia. The leaders were from various political parties, scholars, women rights groups, activists, artists, media professionals, business persons and other individuals. They have diverse perspectives and professional backgrounds.

In the previous six months, they met in three private closed-door workshops (8 nights and 11 days) and discussed the most crucial and urgent issues of Ethiopia. They became a team that worked together to bring their different perspectives, knowledge, and experience to co-create four scenarios of Destiny Ethiopia that the country could face in 2040. The launch event was a special program organized to reveal to the general public the work undertaken by the scenario team members. It was broadcast live on Fana Television and watched by thousands of people. In the subsequent days, almost all media outlets including public, private and international reported the event. The program was historically significant as current and past political actors, who have diverging views on national issues, came together to agree on possible futures for their country.

The program participants had been fierce opponents for most of their public lives. But the process they engaged in helped them learn how to relate to each other differently and find a way to create something positive. They created relationships, building mutual understanding and trust among each other. The leaders publicly declared their commitment for the realization of the “Dawn” scenario, while affirming their intention to take lead in avoiding the occurrence of the other three scenarios.



Enhancing Women's Leadership and Participation to Foster More Inclusive Governance

Funded by the Government of Canada

Challenge

The substantial influence of women in the Arab Spring protests led to the unravelling of many highly centralized, undemocratic regimes in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region during the Arab Spring.

Unfortunately, this influence has not led to a corresponding increase in female stakeholders' representation in leadership and decision-making positions within MENA countries. Entrenched political and cultural contexts fortify women's marginalization within political, civil society, and public spheres. Furthermore, the political and institutional inadequacies which exist in MENA countries have been influenced significantly by these traditionally restrictive power structures and have contributed to women's political inexperience and lack of political access. Thus, women are unable to influence decision making on political, social, and economic issues that directly impact their lives.

Evidence shows that insufficient gender equality in the MENA region has led to a deficit of women in leadership positions. The marginalization of women prevents the interests of all groups in society from being represented, and consequently, decision-making does not accurately reflect the will of the people.

Furthermore, a lack of female participation in roles of influence inhibits the establishment of the democratic systems which are essential to fostering sustainable development in the region.

In 2019-20 the Forum was pleased to continue its program to foster women's leadership in Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia, as part of the Government of Canada's ongoing commitment to advancing gender equality and good governance in the MENA region.

Program Objectives

The overall objective of the initiative is to advance inclusiveness in governance in the target countries. The program will achieve this objective by:

1. Increasing the participation of women in social, cultural and political power structures and decision-making.
2. Enhancing women's and men's ability to positively shape governmental and non-governmental policies, programs and activities that affect women's inclusion in social, cultural and political spheres.

Theory of Change

If more women participate in decision-making across social and governance power structures, this will, in turn, enhance women's and men's ability to positively shape policies, programs, and activities that affect women's inclusion in social, cultural, and political spheres.

This will consequently lead to greater participation of women in policy decision-making. Policies will start to address the challenges that women confront in their daily lives. Increasing the number of women and men in governance who understand women's perspectives will naturally lead to more inclusive governance that takes account of these perspectives.

The program uses a knowledge-sharing strategy to enhance women's leadership skills. When women are skilled, they are better able to take up leadership positions, and the presence of women in these roles leads to an increase in the demand for women officeholders. Furthermore, the camaraderie and in-country networking developed during these knowledge-sharing events enable women leaders to build relationships, share knowledge, and act together on issues.



Story of Results Achieved

In Tunisia:

The project trained 40 members of the Youth Parliament in Tunisia. Ms. Hamida Borghol, project coordinator and educator at l'Observatoire de l'Enfance testified to the value of this training for the beneficiarie:

“The girls gained self-confidence, a key element required for them to maximise their potential. After the training, they created a group to exchange their thoughts and develop activities. Some of these students spoke about their training in the clubs of their educational establishments. Some enrolled as volunteers in different community associations. One student planned a meeting of stakeholders in his governorate. Nearly all of the participants enacted constructive change in their communities. Collectively, they proposed to organize sessions and workshops, each in their governorates, to enable other young girls from the experience they had.”

In Morocco:



Mrs. Rajaâ Amraoui participated in MENA trainings and workshops delivered by Jossour. This led to Mrs. Amraoui improving her governance knowledge and interpersonal skills. Following her participation in the Forum training, she joined IEECAG (Consultative group on equity, equality of opportunities, and gender approach - Instance de l'Équité, de l'Égalité des Chances et de l'approche genre) in Tiznit province of Agadir. Through this position, Mrs. Amraoui contributed to the promotion of the empowerment of women. With her new skills, she helped develop an international assistance project for adolescent girls with the Karam Foundation network among other activities.

Forum MENA participants such as Mrs. Rajaâ Amraoui develop opportunities while leading the work for change.



Quotes

"I have benefited from several trainings on electoral law, human rights, leadership, advocacy and election observation with a focus on the short and long term gender approach. The participation in the trainers' training organized by the League in partnership with the Forum of Federations within the framework of the program "the empowerment of women in leadership roles", allowed me to become a trainer myself. I had the opportunity, as a trainer, to pass on my know-how to trade unionists."

"It is thanks to the multidisciplinary content of the training that the participants were able to access leadership positions."

Samia Itaiief, Secretary General of the General Health Federation and member of the Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights (FTDES).

"I took on the leadership role with a group where we are working on a project to integrate young people into local governance in my region because of the skills I learned through Forum training"

Farah Mimouni, Forum's beneficiary - Tunisia

"My participation in the Forum of Federations program has led to great results in my life! I am proud of the work we have been able to accomplish on behalf of women in our region and our country. I am proud of myself because I have resumed my university studies. This is the reason for the transformation that my life has undergone since I met the Empowering Women in Leadership Roles Program. Personally, I have changed a lot. I was able to channel my rebellion and direct it towards a more precise goal, that of participating in the advent of a new society in Morocco through the empowerment of women so that they can defend gender equality. I have more and more confidence in myself thanks to the support that the Forum facilitates for us in groups or individually. I am more and more convinced that change does not come by itself, but that it must be guided. This is why I develop initiatives to sensitize men and women in my province to women's rights and gender equality."

Ait Lahsein Anaya member of the Instance of Equity, Equal Opportunities and Gender Approach, Province of Zagora- Morocco



Statistics

Reach:

The project reached a total of 96,701 people through its activities in the 2019-20.

Future Women leaders:

87.8% of the future leader trainees stated that they now have increased confidence levels to assume leadership positions.

Public:

78% of 94,036 members of the public reached on issues relating to gender equality, women's leadership and inclusive governance through project activities stated that the public engagement activities had enriched their understanding of women's leadership and women's empowerment.

Local implementing organizations:

The project worked in collaboration with 26 organizations. (Ten civil society organizations, three media institutes, four academic/research institutes and nine government departments/authorities)

Social Media reach:

Web reports on project activities reached 555,237 people.

Supporting Decentralized Governance in Myanmar

Funded by the Government of Canada

Challenge

In 2019-20, the Forum's Supporting Decentralized Governance in Myanmar concluded. This 3-year program ran from January 2016 to June 2019 in a development context in which federalism principles and practices were of great significance in aiming to advance the peace and democratic processes in the country.

General Aung San recognized and articulated the importance of federalist approaches during the creation of modern Myanmar in the late 1940s. The ethnic diversity of the country and the strength of feeling by ethnic minority groups in favour of high degrees of self-determination made a federal approach a natural concomitant to the creation of the new Union/Republic. What followed, after Ne Win's coup d' état in 1962, however, was almost six decades of authoritarian military rule and ongoing civil war, until the country embarked on a process of reform and liberalization under President Thein Sein in 2011.

In recent years, a consensus emerged among major stakeholders – EAOs, political parties and even the Tatmadaw (the armed forces of Myanmar) – on the need for a more inclusive, decentralized political system. The National League for Democracy's (NLD) party manifesto and the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), signed in 2015, reflected this need. Federalism, accordingly, features prominently in the political dialogue process initiated after the signing of the NCA and the first Union Peace Conference (UPC) held in Naypyidaw on January 12-16, 2016 following the November 2015 elections. When the NLD formally took over the government in April 2016, the government reset the peace process.

To date, progress on strengthening federalism and decentralization remains limited, while the political structures remain highly concentrated with only minimal powers given to state and regional governments.



The following challenges hinder progress on strengthening federalism in Myanmar:

1. Constraints under the current constitution;
2. Limited understanding of federalism among both government officials and the general public;
3. Inadequate knowledge about the experience of other countries with federal systems;
4. Limited awareness of the importance of greater engagement of women in the political process; and
5. the lack of practical tools and approaches to advance related reforms.

Building a federal system in Myanmar also touches on sensitive issues such as constitutional reform and how the benefits gained from natural resources--concentrated in ethnic minority states--should be shared.

Program Objectives

The overall objective of the initiative was to enhance federal democracy, stability and inclusiveness in Myanmar. The program pursued this objective by implementing a range of activities to foster:

1. Increased integration of democratic and federal principles into policy by the whole of government in Myanmar.
2. Increased engagement of civil society, including women's groups, and people in the transition to federal democracy in Myanmar.

Theory of Change

The project focused on issues highly relevant to the needs and priorities of many key stakeholders, aligning well with the government's national policies and plans, and the interests of EAOs. Centering on federalism and decentralization knowledge, governance practitioners and civil society have used this knowledge to inform their decision making to strengthen both the peace process and build towards a more robust democratic governance system in Myanmar.

Story of Results Achieved

The results of an assessment of project impact undertaken by the Forum in June 2019 demonstrated two significant achievements relating to the discussions/implementation on federalism in Myanmar:

The Tatmadaw had opposed the federal idea for several decades because they believed "federalism" was about secession. The program has helped changed this perception, and now the Tatmadaw understand that federalism is a state architecture that can unite the country.

Secondly, according to the interviews undertaken with participants of program training sessions, gender equality perspectives are now being integrated into the federalism discourse in Myanmar, thanks in part to Forum efforts at highlighting this necessary aspect of governance.

Quotes

"This workshop is really useful and eye-opening for me. I gained greater knowledge about fiscal federalism from this workshop and I was motivated to take part in building more effective federal fiscal arrangements for our country. I invite the Forum of Federations to give a talk about fiscal federalism for our MPs at the regional parliament."

- U Tint Lwin (Chair, the Public Account Committee (Yangon Regional Hluttaw)).

"I got a lot of experiences and a new idea on the nexus between gender equality and federalism. This kind of dialogue is needed in Myanmar."

-Daw Khin Lay Nge, program director of Phan Tee Eain. She joined the "Gender Equality and Federalism Workshop".

Statistics

In FY 2019-20, a total of 534 people were reached through program activities such as stakeholder trainings, capacity building workshops, and federalism outreach activities. 220 of the beneficiaries (41%) were women and 314 (58%) men.

Overall, this project engaged with 17,580 direct beneficiaries (11,840 Male and 5740 Female). The program Facebook page has a reach of 373,783 individuals.



Strengthening Federalism and Inclusive Governance in Myanmar

Funded by the Government of Canada

In September 2019, the Government of Canada approved the program “Strengthening Federalism and Inclusive Governance in Myanmar.” The project will run over the next five years with a total budget of \$6,700,000 CAD. The initiative responds to a call from the Government of Myanmar and ethnic states and regions to shape an inclusive governance system based on federalism principles.

Evidence suggests that several characteristics of federalism may be promising in developing a framework for accommodating the aspirations of ethnic and religious minorities within Myanmar. It has the potential to create a structure that respects the cultures, languages, and laws of minority communities. Federalism can accommodate multiple identities and loyalties within a state, as well as different levels of government, allowing for varying degrees of shared sovereignty.

The program also responds to the desires of women and women’s rights organizations across the country to participate in the definition of this federal state and foster gender-sensitive policies at all levels of government. The Forum developed the intervention based on research, experience and the lessons learned from past programming in Myanmar, including the aforementioned Support to Decentralized Governance in Myanmar program. The program also builds upon other work the Forum has implemented on inclusive federal governance and gender equality and women’s empowerment.



Program Objectives

The program targets two complementary areas of reform and development to enhance the country’s transition to federal democracy:

1. More inclusive and gender-sensitive federal policies and power-sharing options for a proposed federal state.
2. Enhanced participation of women as decision-makers at all levels of government in designing a proposed federal state

The project will address the need to help stakeholders develop and implement gender-sensitive federal policies. Conflict in the country will continue unless the long-standing aspirations of ethnic minorities for a more federal system for the country are met. Federalization, however, needs to benefit both men and women. Gender equality is – or should be – an integral part of the federalization process. Through various approaches, this project will attempt to advance gender-sensitive federal governance. It will focus its efforts on power-sharing/constitutional reform, fiscal arrangements, education, and health.





Theory of Change

The project's Theory of Change states that all people in Myanmar shall be able to benefit from a more responsive and inclusive federal governance system. This statement necessarily includes the notion that the project wishes and needs to sensitize all in society, including men, of the benefits of gender-sensitizing federal governance. Through interventions designed to develop the decision makers' capacity to respond to the demands and aspirations of women and men from across the country, opportunities will develop for open and fruitful dialogue among all stakeholders.

Furthermore, the project recognizes the specific needs of women to increase their potential by supporting their capacity and knowledge on gender equality issues as they interconnect with federalism. It further engages men to ensure they better understand the pertinence of greater equality in the public and private spheres.

If stakeholders develop and implement gender-sensitive federal policies and power-sharing options for a proposed federal state, and if there is equal participation of women with men as decision-makers at all levels of government in designing a proposed federal state, then the federal governance in Myanmar will be more inclusive and responsive to all its people.

Quotes

"Thank you very much for your thought-provoking workshops on federal fiscal arrangements in federations. These workshops were very useful and impactful for our CSO members. I would like to invite the Forum to make a presentation on fiscal federalism during CSO Forum at the Union level meeting in Nay Pyi Taw."

- *U Tet Htut Naing (Nyein Foundation). Supporting Peace Process and Empowering State Hluttaws through Technical Assistance and Peacebuilding Research Project (STEP).*

Statistics

This project will directly benefit over 11,000 people in Myanmar - including civil society organizations and women's groups, political parties, media, academia, government officials and parliamentarians - to support more inclusive governance for all, especially marginalized groups and women.

In the initial period of implementation to March 2020, the project invited 1602 people to initial workshops; 801 men (50%) and 801 women (50%).

Support for Managing Fiscal Federalism in Nepal (SMFFN)

(Feb 2020 - Jan 2021)

Funded by the United Kingdom



Challenge

After decades of conflict and debate around its political system, Nepal is transforming from a unitary system of government to a federal polity. The public hopes that federalism in Nepal will address inclusion and economic growth agendas by devolving resources and decision-making power from the center to all spheres of government. The Constitution of Nepal (2015) enumerates three orders of government with federal, provincial, and local governments – each consisting of an executive and an elected representative branch.

Though the 2015 Constitution has devolved power across three spheres of government, the devolution of these powers to provincial and local governments is very much in its infancy. As an entirely new governance sphere in Nepal, provinces are still in the process of establishing an understanding of their roles and responsibilities, and the essential systems and processes required to meet the demands of service delivery in a federation. Here the objective is to shift resources and decision-making power closer to citizens to provide for better allocation and utilization of resources and services, which, in turn, should foster greater prosperity and consolidate peace and unity.

Additionally, the process is subject to enormous political and public pressure as well as scrutiny from the international community. Support to accomplish this agenda is imperative. The Forum is working to support the implementation process by providing the knowledge leaders and officials require so that they can build a strong federal Nepal

Program Objectives

1. Capacity building, training and mentoring of officials across all spheres of government;
2. Enhancing knowledge and skills on roles and responsibilities of all three orders of government, through case studies and comparative federal experiences;
3. Strengthening intergovernmental relations;
4. Strengthening federal fiscal practices, especially those related to coordinate development planning

Theory of Change

Enhancing the capacity of constitutional roles and responsibilities and the intergovernmental fiscal coordination practices of Nepal's political leaders and government administrators will lead to improvements in the coordination of intergovernmental fiscal relations and financial management practices.

Building capability inclusively among marginalized communities will enable greater representation for vulnerable community members in Nepal's decision-making process. This will, in turn, benefit these communities in shaping better governance and service delivery outcomes in Nepal – improving the quality of life of all Nepalis.

Political Accommodation and Reconciliation in Somalia

Funded by The Government of the Netherlands

Challenge

Somalia became the first textbook case of state failure in 1991 in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union (of which Somalia had been a client state). The year 2012 marked a significant departure when the Provisional Federal Constitution (PFC) came into force. The PFC formally establishes Somalia as a federation centered on power and resource sharing among the major clan groups. However, the PFC left many critical details of the federal system (such as most of the distribution of powers and revenues, intergovernmental relations, and the design of the second chamber, among others) to be negotiated and settled in a final constitution, initially planned for 2016. Completion of this permanent constitution has to date remained elusive.

Across the board, establishing the basic tenets of a nation-state has been slow and painstaking, due mainly to systemic weaknesses that are symptomatic of severe state fragility – i.e. lack of primary institutions of governance, low levels of trust, severely low levels of political and technocratic capacity, and very high levels of insecurity due to the presence of the al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist group, Al Shabaab that still controls a significant amount of territory in the country.

An ongoing and intense tug-of-war between federal and state levels (and by proxy among clans) is a natural and expected feature of any ongoing transition, and even more so in Somalia as the world's prototype failed state. There are potent forces for both centralization and decentralization of power. More importantly, the “federal discourse” in Somalia needs to move away from this zero-sum approach.

Since 2016 the Forum has, in consortium with Conflict Dynamics International and the Somali organization SOYDEN, supported the implementation of a 5-year €6.75 million project, Political Accommodation and Pluralism in Somalia, funded by the Netherlands.

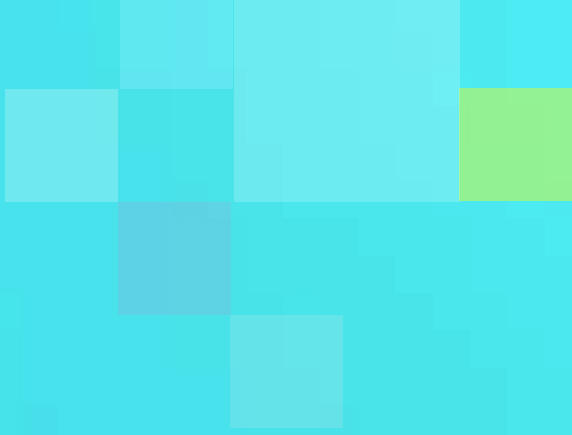
Objectives

The project's ultimate targeted outcome is that the Federal Government of Somalia and the Federal Member States have increased consensus around and begin to implement practical and politically accommodating distribution of powers and intergovernmental relations (IGR). The project provides a combination of research, training, technical advice and dialogue on a range of federal governance issues with a major focus on the distribution of powers and IGR. This work falls into three broad categories:

1. In-depth training for senior federal and state top decision-makers, their advisors and influencers representing key interest groups - including women - to help develop consensus on the design of distribution of powers (DOP) and intergovernmental relations (IGR) arrangements.
2. Training, dialogue and awareness-raising among Somalia's broader political influencers, including civil society and thought leaders, on the same topics, as well as increasing capacity for local organizations to deliver their awareness and dialogue programs on federal governance to their respective constituencies.
3. Support for practical technical issues (e.g. legal and administrative matters, institutional design, training, etc.) related to implementing the newly agreed distribution of powers and IGR arrangements.

Activity Highlight from 2019-20

- Workshop with senior officials on easing the entrenched deadlock between federal and state governments regarding the federal arrangements needed to complete a permanent constitution. This workshop led to specific ideas and intensive person-to-person consultations by Forum's Senior Program Advisor and the Presidency and Office of the Prime Minister, examining these ideas.



▶ PUBLICATIONS AND MULTIMEDIA



BOOKS

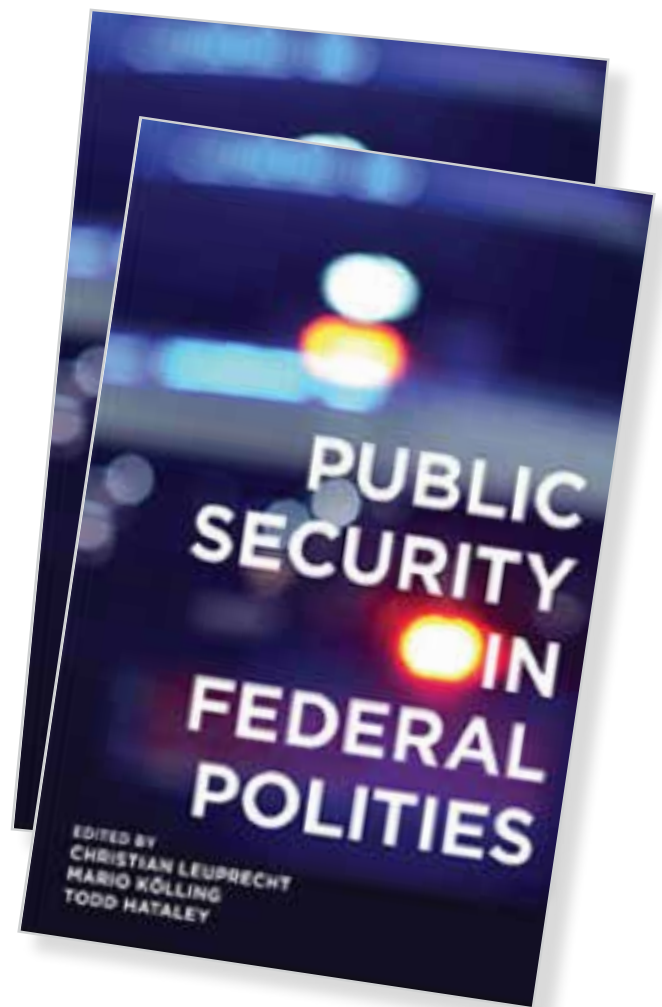
“Public Security in Federal Polities”

Public Security in Federal Polities is the first systematic and methodical study to bring together the fields of security studies and comparative federalism. The volume explores the symbiotic relationship between public security concerns and institutional design, public administration, and public policy across nine federal country case studies: Brazil, Canada, Germany, India, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. In addressing specific national security concerns and aspects of globalization that are challenging conventional approaches to global, international, regional, and domestic security, this volume examines how the constitutional and institutional framework of a society affects the effectiveness and efficiency of public security arrangements. Public Security in Federal Polities identifies differences and similarities, highlights best practices, and draws out lessons for both particular federations, and for federal systems in general. This book is essential reading for scholars, students, practitioners as well as policy- and decision-makers of security and federalism.

Christian Leuprecht is Professor at the Royal Military College of Canada and Queen’s University, and Matthew Flinders Fellow at the Flinders University of South Australia.

Mario Kölling is an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science at the Spanish National Distance Education University (UNED).

Todd Hataley is an adjunct associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the Royal Military College of Canada



FORUM REPORTS

Apex-level Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems: Comparative Perspectives and Lessons for the Indian Context

Authored by Rupak Chattopadhyay and Liam Whittington and Prepared by the Forum of Federations at the request of the World Bank as part of its submission to the Fifteenth Finance Commission of India.

Cooperative Federalism is a concept of federalism in which national, state, and increasingly local governments interact cooperatively and collectively to solve common problems, rather than making policies separately. The complexity brought on by globalization means that even in traditionally dualist federations like Canada, the U.S., and Switzerland, where each order of government has its own constitutionally mandated tasks, different orders need to work collaboratively to obtain policy outcomes that no single order of government could achieve on its own. Cooperative federalism requires robust mechanisms for promoting intergovernmental relations (IGR). This paper aims to offer a comparative survey of trends in apex-level intergovernmental relations and draw out implications for the Indian context.

IGR are an integral part of every federal system, and interaction and interdependence between different orders of government is becoming increasingly important as actors strive to improve governance. Federal partners share information, create joint institutions, determine each other's roles in the case of shared competences, negotiate over funding, and conclude formal agreements over the performance of respective functions. Federal nations vary in relation to their history, geography, constitutional framework, legal culture, distribution of competences or resources, and federal design. Consequently, IGR can take a wide variety of forms, often in response to the design of the federal system and culture around it. IGR may involve any or all levels of government, legislatures, executives, and quasi autonomous agencies.

There is a multiplicity of existing IGR mechanisms, and different federal systems are subject to diverse pressures in relation to: timing; partisan politics and ideology; key policy areas; economic conditions; and institutional channels of conflict and collaboration. In spite of these differences, the majority of federations rely on a mixture of vertical and horizontal IGR mechanisms, and on both formal and informal practices. Various levels of government engage in conflictual and consensual dealings.

This paper is primarily concerned with vertical IGR and the important role that Apex level IGR platforms can play in bringing about whole of government coherence on a range of public policy issues in any country. While almost all federations have relatively dense networks of intergovernmental interactions on a sectoral basis, this has not always led to the establishment of successful or effective Apex level IGR institutions. The paper provides a comparative analysis of nine federal countries, covering two integrated and seven dualist federations; and three presidential and six parliamentary federations.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Interaction_and_Coordination_in_Federal_Systems_World-Bank_Final.pdf



OCCASIONAL PAPERS (OP)

In fiscal year 2019-20, the Forum published three original Occasional Papers on topics ranging from migrant integration, natural resource revenue allocations in petrofederations and IGR fiscal relations in Germany.

The Forum also finished publishing its special series on territorial cleavages, produced in partnership with International IDEA, the Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation, and the Center for Constitutional Transitions. The series examined the specific circumstances and governance architecture of individual countries dealing with issues of territorial cleavage and analyzed how they achieved their current constitutional structure. Forum Occasional Papers are made freely available online on the Forum website.

Forum Occasional Papers this year were downloaded nearly 5,000 times.

Special OP Series on Territorial Cleavages:

Territorial Cleavages in Constitutional Transitions

In January 2019, the Territorial Cleavages in Constitutional Transitions project partners, including the Forum, International IDEA, the Center for Constitutional Transitions, and the Manuel Gimenez Abad Foundation, published the Policy Manual entitled Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions. Several chapters from this manual were subsequently released as Occasional Papers from January 2019-March 2019. The remaining chapters from the manual were released as occasional papers in 2019-20.

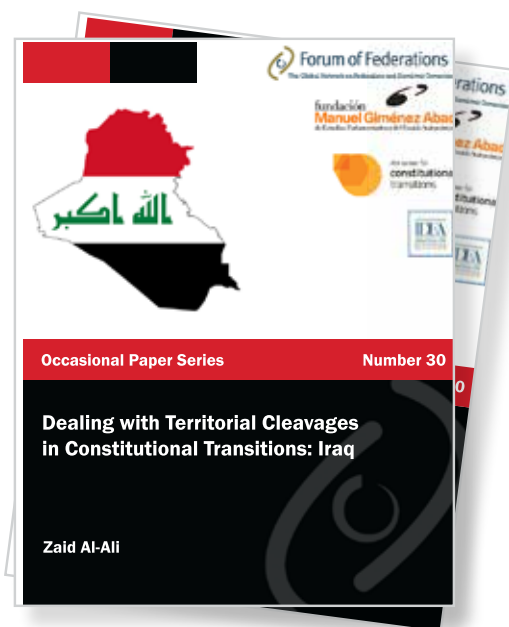
Dealing with Territorial Cleavages in Constitutional Transitions Iraq Number 30

Iraq's territorial cleavage between Arabs and Kurds was prioritized throughout the entire post-Saddam Hussein transition process, but was so seriously mismanaged that it has caused detriment to the country's entire system of governance. The interim constitution was the first attempt to resolve the issue, at least on a temporary basis. It provided for the establishment of Iraq's first federal arrangement and for provinces to merge together and form larger regions, which had the potential to seriously change the country's internal arrangements.

The text was conceived through a US-led and undemocratic negotiation process that excluded a large number of Iraqi actors. After January 2005, the newly elected interim parliament composed a 55 (later 70) member constitution drafting committee. That committee adopted a majoritarian approach to decision making, which pushed the draft in favor of a more traditional form of federalism, but which left minority views (generally those of the Kurdish negotiators) unrepresented. Rather than prolong the process and insist on a more consensual approach, the US embassy and a small number of Iraqi allies decided that the negotiations should continue on an invitation-only basis, which excluded a large number of actors. The draft constitution that emerged from that new process was heavily inspired by the interim constitution. Although that draft was approved in the October 2005 referendum, a large segment of Iraq's political class has refused to apply the federal system of government (the constitution's cornerstone) and its provision on natural resources. The result is that Iraq's territorial cleavage has been left unresolved and festering since 2005.

Zaid Al-Ali examines this process in detail in this paper.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/OPS_30_Iraq.pdf



Indonesia: 'Special autonomy' for Aceh and Papua: Number 31



Indonesian politics have been characterised by a large number of territorial cleavages that have only been partially addressed since the beginning of democratisation in 1998. It is a very diverse country with a history of several challenges to the state's external boundaries, as well as internal ethnic and religious conflict. A strong anti-colonial nationalist movement constructed a core set of symbols and ideas around which the nation and state of Indonesia were eventually created, including Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. During three decades of authoritarian rule, the state primarily emphasised unity and national integrity over accommodating its diversity. Repression was routinely used to quell rising grievances. When the regime began to democratise in 1998, several groups mobilised and demanded more autonomous powers and resources.

Most groups primarily grumbled over strong state Centralization. Acehnese, Papuans and East Timorese, however, developed sub-state nationalist movements, all of which demanded independence in response to deeply seated grievances. Decades of violent repression, human rights abuses at the hands of the armed forces, displacement and marginalisation fed strong resentment against the Indonesian state. A 'constitutional transition' began with the fall of President Suharto's authoritarian regime in May 1998 and ended with the adoption of the Law on Aceh in 2006. In the first instance, Indonesia's highest governing body, the People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR) adopted several constitutional amendments between 1998 and 2002. While preserving the 1945 Constitution, which had formalised a strong centralist and authoritarian regime, the MPR nevertheless radically transformed its substance to support democratic change. Among its notable features, it enshrined principles of "wide-ranging autonomy" for Indonesia's diverse regions and mandated the adoption of legislation that recognised the "particularities and diversity of each region.

Legislation that addressed these issues includes two iterations of fiscal and administrative decentralization laws that applied to all regions of Indonesia, in 1999 and 2004. The state adopted two special autonomy laws in 2001 to address grievances in Aceh and Papua. While the special autonomy law still governs Papua, it no longer applies to Aceh. Instead, new legislation ensures broad autonomy powers and highly favourable fiscal concessions under the 2006 Law on Aceh. East Timor obtained a referendum on independence in 1999 and seceded from Indonesia.

In this Occasional Paper, Jacques Bertrand compares how Acehnese and Papuans negotiated this constitutional transition.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/OPS_31_Indonesia.pdf

Constitutional Transitions and Territorial Cleavages: The Kenyan Case: Number 32

Kenya grew out of British annexation of territories of a number of communities, and immigrants from India and Britain. As independence drew near, Britain agreed to the demand of minority communities – against strong opposition from larger communities – for federal arrangements under which the regions would have power on matters of special concern to minorities. But soon after independence, regional governments were abolished, leading to a highly centralised system. Authoritarian rule, massive land grabbing, loss of rights, and marginalisation of minorities followed.

For many years, the government resisted demands for constitutional reform, but eventually conceded, under pressure from civil society and western governments following the end of the Cold War. Agreement was reached on principles for reform and a constitution review commission was established, in 2000. This Occasional Paper focuses on the work of that commission and the National Constitutional Conference that followed, adopting a draft constitution. It concentrates on issues surrounding devolution of power, on who demanded it and how the issues were resolved. By the time of the Conference in 2003-4, Kenya had a new president. He reneged on promises of reform, and imposed changes which weakened the draft constitution, including its provisions on devolution. This revised draft was rejected in a referendum in 2005. Serious violence, driven by ethnic incitement, followed allegedly rigged elections in 2007. International mediation led to a coalition government and the resumption of constitutional reform.

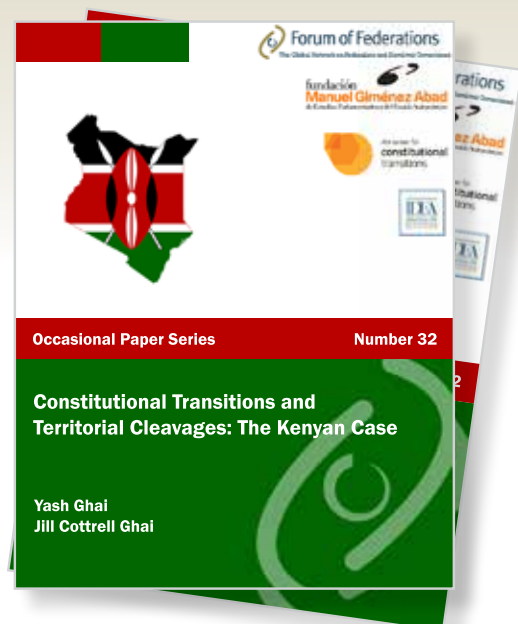
In August 2010, a new constitution, based largely on the drafts of the commission and national conference, including on devolution, was adopted in a referendum.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/OPS_32_Kenya.pdf

Godot Has Arrived-Federal Restructuring in Nepal: Number 33

This Occasional Paper analyses the process and modalities that led to the federalisation of Nepal's unitary state. It explores the historical circumstances in which demands for federalism emerged and the federal settlement enshrined in Nepal's new Constitution promulgated on 20 September 2015. The question of federalism gained prominence in Nepal's public discourse during the 'People's War', the ten-year long armed insurgency (1996-2006) launched by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to overthrow the government. In fact, the drafting of Nepal's seventh constitution was part of the peace process that began in 2006. The new dispensation was expected to reflect the political commitment to 'building a New Nepal' – an inclusive and democratic polity – through a radical programme of state restructuring. The Maoists, together with various ethno-cultural and regional groups, argued that the 1990 Constitution, which was to re-democratize the country after thirty years of Panchayat monarchical autocracy (1960-1990), inadequately addressed – if not reinforced – patterns of exclusion of many groups on the basis of class and/or identity, and they saw territorial autonomy for ethno-linguistic and regional groups as the key solution to the country's rampant discrimination.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/OPS_33_Nepal.pdf



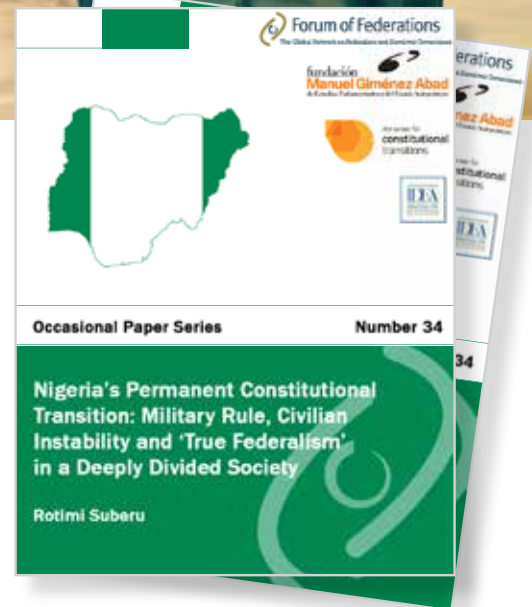


Nigeria's Permanent Constitutional Transition: Military Rule, Civilian Instability and 'True Federalism' in a Deeply Divided Society: Number 34

As one of the world's most deeply divided countries, Nigeria perennially has sought to redesign constitutional institutions to contain inter-group conflict. The struggle to stabilize Nigeria's fragmented society has seen wide-ranging institutional experiments, including civilian and military rule, centrifugal and centralized federalisms, presidential and parliamentary systems, and various institutions for restraining the legendary political corruption at the heart of the country's disintegrative ethno-political conflicts.

This Occasional Paper analyzes the background, procedures, structures, and aftermath of Nigeria's constitutional transformation - under military auspices - from a relatively decentralized, parliamentary federation of four ethnic regions to a centrist, presidential, 36-state federalism. There was a momentous constitutional transition over nearly thirty years of military rule from 1966 to 1999, with a brief civilian interregnum in the Second Nigerian Republic (1979-83), during which the military created a strong central government. The military dominated the constitutional transition process, despite the cooperation of civilian drafting committees and constituent assemblies. Despite the resilience and ingenuity of the military's constitutional legacy, significant challenges have developed since the return of civilian rule, reacting against the military's non-participatory procedures, centrist structures, and relatively weak investment in critical institutions of restraint. These challenges, which have often come under the rubric of "political restructuring" and a quest for democratic "true federalism," have spawned a relentless constitutional politics, underscoring the permanent or continuous nature of Nigeria's constitutional transition.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/OPS_34_Nigeria.pdf



The Philippines: Peace talks and autonomy in Mindanao: Number 35



The Philippines has been wracked by an insurgency in its Muslim south since the early 1970s. A negotiated settlement at last seemed within reach by 2015. Moros, an umbrella term for thirteen ethno-linguistic groups that practice Islam, make up roughly five percent of the population in the predominantly Roman Catholic Philippines. They are concentrated in two non-contiguous areas: the central portion of Mindanao, the large island in the country's far south; and in the Sulu archipelago, which stretches from the western tip of Mindanao to Sabah in eastern Malaysia. Moros began mobilizing against the Philippine state in the late 1960s and launched an armed rebellion in 1972. The first of several peace agreements to grant Moros autonomy was signed in 1976 under martial law. The 1987 constitution envisioned a Moro autonomous region within the unitary republic. The government created this region by fiat in 1989 but it had few powers and remained under Manila's control. The insurgents did not believe it was truly autonomous. As peace talks dragged on, the armed movement splintered and divisions among Moros deepened. The original organization, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), fractured along ethnic lines in the 1980s, signed a final peace agreement in 1996, and then fragmented further in the early 2000s. The main breakaway group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), has posed the most serious threat to the Philippine state since then. A settlement looked less likely with the MILF, as negotiations were constrained by autonomy provisions in the constitution. When a breakthrough agreement was reached in 2008, spoilers in Mindanao and Manila fiercely opposed it and the Supreme Court ruled it was unconstitutional. Despite these setbacks, the government and the MILF signed new peace agreements in 2012 and 2014.

This Occasional Paper explains why it has taken so long to resolve the territorial cleavage in the southern Philippines even though both sides recognize autonomy as the solution. Political interests in Mindanao and in Manila have repeatedly stood in the way, even while the 1987 constitution made autonomy possible. A major constraint has been procedural: to create a Moro autonomous region, the constitution requires legislation in Congress and a plebiscite in affected areas. This two-step process has allowed opponents of autonomy to block its implementation or to limit the territory and powers of such a region.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/OPS_35_Philippines.pdf



The Withering Away of Politically Salient Territorial Cleavages in South Africa and the Emergence of Watermark Ethnic Federalism: Number 36

The policy of apartheid was an attempt to territorialise the white/black racial cleavage through the creation of bantustans, confining black political aspirations to 13 percent of the country, while the remainder of the country continued under white minority dominance. This was to be achieved by fracturing blacks into ethnic-based territories. The failure of, and resistance to, apartheid resulted in the ‘constitutional moment’ from 1990 to 1996 where the two major protagonists, the white minority represented by the National Party (NP), and the African National Congress (ANC), sought to unmake the political salience of these manufactured territorial cleavages. They created a new narrative of a nonracial, non-ethnicity society and thereby undercut the salience of territory. This project was violently resisted by polities whose very political base lay in territory – the Afrikaner right wing and Zulu nationalists. However, the non-racial, non-ethnic narrative was dominant, although allowances were made for very limited accommodation of ethnic-based territories.

After 25 years the unmaking of the salience of territorial cleavages has largely been successful; territorial politics based on race and ethnicity have largely withered away. Right-wing Afrikaners and Zulu nationalists’ demands for an ethnic homeland have evaporated. Although ethnicity amongst the Africans has not disappeared, it is currently well catered for through a weak federal system. The non-territorial black/white divide - manifested by the continued inequality in wealth between the two racial groups - is still the dominant cleavage, which has led to the increasing questioning of the non-territorial compromise between the ANC and the NP over the protection of property rights.

The important lessons from the successful unmaking of territorial politics include: a common commitment to peace; the framing of the transition to democracy in non-racial terms; the willingness to make asymmetrical deals with obdurate ethnic entrepreneurs; the strategic use of ambiguity in agreements and temporizing final outcomes; the very limited use of foreigners in the negotiations; and the holding of elections both to structure the process as well as providing legitimacy to the end product – the constitutional settlement.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/OPS36_South_Africa.pdf

Sri Lanka's Failed Peace Process and the Continuing Challenge of Ethno-Territorial Cleavages: Number 38



Despite an auspicious start to independent statehood following British decolonisation in 1948, Sri Lanka soon dissipated its early promise in a quagmire of ethnonationalism, institutional decay, authoritarianism, and civil war. Compared to the complexity of many other Asian and African postcolonial states contending with ethno-territorial pluralism, including notably India, the Sri Lankan situation seems at first straightforward. Its ethno-territorial conflict stems from the Sinhala-Buddhist majority's dominance over the island's politics and government, and in response, the minority Tamils' desire for self-government in the northeast. The ethnic division between Sinhalese and Tamils is thus replicated in a territorial cleavage between the 'south' and the 'northeast', so that fairly conventional constitutional strategies of nation-building and power-sharing would seem adequate to accommodate these competing claims. Yet the conundrum is that the Sri Lankan state has consistently failed to devise a constitutional order in congruence with its societal pluralism, and, despite over half a century of reform attempts, this seemingly easy problem has so far defied resolution.

This Occasional Paper focuses on one of the most concerted attempts made to find a constitutional resolution of the conflict: the Norwegian-facilitated peace process between the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), roughly from 2001 to 2005. This process was marked in significant ways by methods associated with the liberal peace-building model, while simultaneously reflecting the closed and elitist character of Sri Lankan constitutional politics. Its failure led to a final phase of military conflict in which the government comprehensively defeated the LTTE in May 2009 and then, as victor, was hostile to any concessions to Tamil aspirations to regional autonomy— something which has changed only recently with a change of government. The paper highlights various weaknesses of this model of conflict transformation and constitutional transition, in a context of limited constitutional imagination on both sides, hyper-competitive southern electoral politics, the breakdown of cohabitation at the centre, and the failure to mitigate the effects of ethnonationalist antagonisms, and the critical absence of public participation.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/SriLanka_38.pdf

After the Scottish Independence Referendum: Towards a Federal Moment for the United Kingdom? : Number 39



This Occasional Paper addresses the independence referendum in Scotland which took place on 18 September 2014 and its aftermath, which together have created an extended and ongoing constitutional moment, the implications of which for the future of the United Kingdom remain uncertain. In the referendum 55% of Scots said No to the question: ‘Should Scotland be an Independent Country?’. It was a very dramatic event but it should also be seen as part of a long process in the gradual devolution of power in the UK, not only to Scotland but also to Wales and Northern Ireland, which continues to move ahead at speed. Although the referendum did not result in a vote for independence, it has sparked a further process of decentralization. The Smith Commission, established in the days after the referendum, was a body given the task of drawing up further radical powers for the Scottish Parliament. This resulted in the Scotland Act 2016, which sets out a series of powers that could make Scotland one of the most autonomous sub-state territories in the world. In this paper Stephen Tierney discusses the institutional arrangements and political conditions that formed the background to the referendum, the referendum itself, and the aftermath in which we saw such a quick move towards further, radical constitutional change. Insofar as the referendum marks a constitutional moment, it is a fluid one, with the question now being asked: is the United Kingdom edging in a federal direction?

In the end the referendum ended in a victory for the No side, and a result of 55% to 45% seems on the face of it to be a clear victory for the unionist side. However, the author explores how the referendum was certainly not the start of the debate about the territorial organization of the United Kingdom, and by the same measure it has not served not to end this debate. Rather, the referendum has led constitutional deliberations in a new direction, inspired by the political commitments made towards the end of the campaign by the main unionist parties which promised further powers for the Scottish Parliament in an effort to persuade wavering Scots to vote No. And it was certainly not the end of the story. Reform of the UK’s territorial constitution is now also over-shadowed by the decision taken by the British people to leave the European Union in the ‘Brexit’ referendum held on 23 June 2016.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/OPS39_UnitedKingdom.pdf

Dealing with Territorial Cleavages: The Rise and Fall of Ukraine's Faustian Bargain: Number 40

This Occasional Paper explores efforts in Ukraine to create a constitutional system that accommodates the country's stark regional differences. The Ukrainian case highlights the fact that, even in a context of deep cross-regional differences, regional demands for autonomy are not necessarily enduring but may fluctuate quite dramatically over short periods of time depending on the political situation in the center. Demands by territorially concentrated groups for constitutional accommodation varied significantly from the breakup of the USSR in 1991 until 2015. With the partial exception of Crimea, central actors alleviated demands for decentralization and federalism by giving key regional interests and identities a stake in central power. By the mid 1990s, a powerful coalition for centralization – sometimes referred to as the “pact with the devil” – emerged between national democrats seeking state support for Ukrainian language and national symbols on the one side; and eastern economic interests on the other seeking access to rents and administrative mechanisms for maintaining power. The collapse of this arrangement from 2010 to 2014 contributed to the onset of violent conflict.

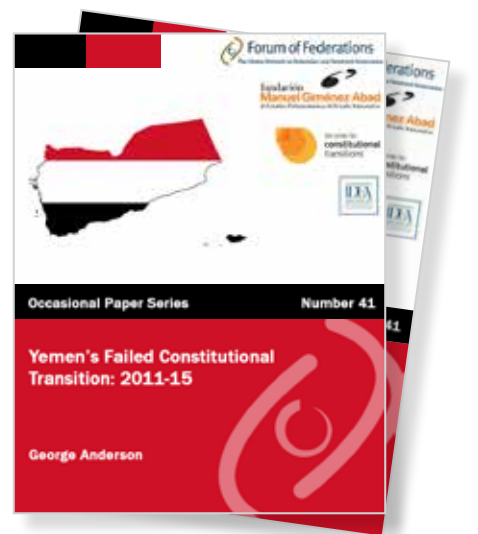
http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/OPS_40_Ukraine.pdf



Yemen's Failed Constitutional Transition: 2011-15: Number 41

Yemen's constitutional moment started with the exhilaration of the country's Arab Spring and ended with the outbreak of civil war. In 2011 a popular uprising resulted in the resignation of the autocratic president, Ali Abdullah Saleh. Neighboring Arab countries quickly became engaged in steering the process, which included an election to legitimate the succession of the vice-president to the presidency, a government of national unity composed of old line parties, and, at the urging of the United Nations, a National Dialogue process on national goals and the design of a new constitution. The dialogue process was intended to be highly inclusive and non-partisan, but suffered from its inability to resolve tough questions, the absence of key political players, and the role of spoilers, including Saleh. It recommended a new federal regime, but its design was only partially developed and failed to resolve the critical issue of the number and boundaries of states. The president created a committee that endorsed his preferred scheme, which was deeply resented in the South, where there was strong mobilization around secession, and by the Houthis in the north. A Constitutional Drafting Committee was commissioned to prepare a draft. Throughout this process, the government was very dysfunctional, while the economy and security situations were deteriorating. By the summer of 2014, Houthi insurgents had progressed to the edges of the capital Sanaa, when a government decision to end fuel subsidies led to massive demonstrations and the entry of the Houthi into Sanaa, causing a crisis for the government. The Constitutional Drafting Committee finally delivered its document to the president in January 2015 and this became the trigger for civil war. The country has become even more fractured with the humanitarian disaster of the conflict and there is little sign of consensus on its constitutional future.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OPS41_Yemen.pdf



FORUM ORIGINAL OCCASIONAL PAPERS 2019-20

Occasional Paper Number 42: Conflicts over Mineral Rents in Petrofederations

Federal countries face critical decisions about how to deal with the wealth of their mineral resources, oil in particular. Building consent and avoiding opposition is difficult when regional governments and municipalities possess varying degrees of autonomy from the central government. The scale of the resources at stake often brings the interests of exploiting regions, other regions, and the central government into opposition. This paper is a summary of the first part of a research study of how oil wealth influences federal fiscal relations. Using qualitative comparative analysis, it maps and explains intergovernmental disputes in twelve petrofederations: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, USA and Venezuela.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OPS_42Petrofederations_in_comparative2.pdf



Bending the Constitution: The New Regulation of Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Germany: Number 43

In Germany, reforms of intergovernmental fiscal relations have always been difficult. However, changes to legislation were always a result of a high degree of political expertise. The administrative preparations and the negotiations demanded a lot of time. They were conducted by experts from both administration and academia, often in public discourse. This legislation was based on a political agreement by the premiers of the Länder, forged behind closed doors, for which the federal government was supposed to pay. In the end the federal governments accepted this agreement in exchange for more federal powers, which shifts the federal balance in favour of the federation. This agreement was not developed within the usual procedures of parliamentary and public debates but – although all formal constitutional requirements were observed – in a private meeting of the top elites of Länder politicians.

In the end a proposal was provided which – according to the Länder Minister-Presidents – could not be altered.

http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/OPS_43_Bending_Constitution2.pdf

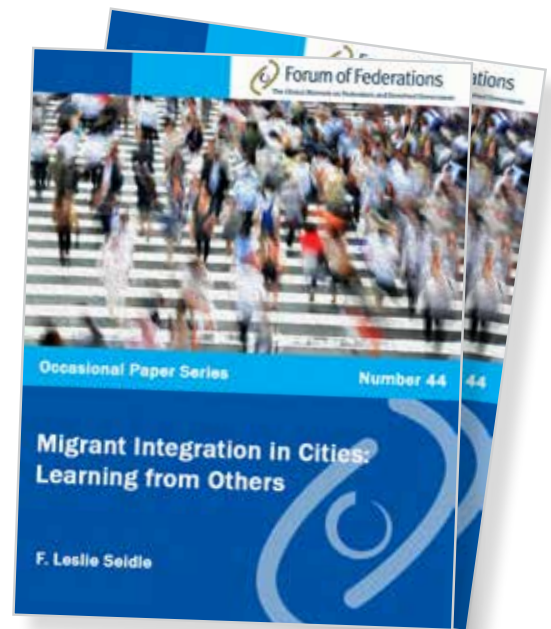


Migrant Integration in Cities: Learning from Others: Number 44

Many countries have national migrant integration policies or programs. Many cities also have integration initiatives, whether sponsored by local government, civil society organizations, or both. The programs vary considerably, and limited resources are often an obstacle. It is nevertheless clear that the level of such activity in many cities in North America and western Europe has been increasing.

Drawing on his expertise in federalism and in immigration issues, Leslie Seidle profiles five innovations in migrant integration from Canada, Germany, Spain and the United States. The countries are either federal or—in the case of Spain—quasi-federal, allowing him to consider city-level practices within a multi-level context. The paper also includes case studies of two networks – Intercultural Cities and Welcoming America – that promote the exchange of promising practices and learning among cities.

Seidle observes that city governments are often seen as better suited than senior governments to collaborate with community partners – a widely-used approach in this sector. He shows that good ideas originate in different places and that the leadership of a highly motivated change agent is often key. With its emphasis on the potential benefits of structured interaction between residents from different backgrounds, interculturalism often underlies migrant integration initiatives in quite different urban contexts.



http://www.forumfed.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/OPS44_Migrant_Integration_in_Cities_Learning_from_Others.pdf

► FORUM ONLINE

 **Forum of Federations** @ForumFed · Jan 7
NEW @ForumFed Report!

Apex-level Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems: Comparative Perspectives and Lessons for the Indian Context

By @RupakChatto and L. Whittington for @WorldBank as a submission to 15th Finance Commission of India.

Download: forumfed.org/wp-content/upl...



  5  11  

 **Forum of Federations MENA** @ForumMENAgender · Feb 20
@ForumMENAgender is proud to partner with @CanadaDev and @CanadaTunisia on this important event!



 **Canada in Jordan** @CanEmbJordan · Feb 20



2nd edition of #FemParl to kick off on 26 February. Young female political leaders, new female parliamentarians and candidates under one roof to #engage and #empower..... @CanadaTunisia @EyesAbroad

[Show this thread](#)



ONLINE

The new Forum website has now been updated to reflect the organization's 2018-2023 Strategic Plan. The Forum will continue to make upgrades which will include enhancing and simplifying how we describe Development Assistance and Policy Programs while adding French translation for key pages. The Forum will also continue to make as much content as possible available at no charge to the user.

After several years of growth in users of the Forum website, online traffic shifted to social media, resulting in a small decline in website traffic. This is reflected by the following statistics on website traffic:

Traffic to the Forum website remains steady.

Year 2016

Unique Visitors: 55,700
Number of Visits: 159,278

Year 2017

Unique Visitors: 130,641
Number of Visits: 200,677

Year 2018

Unique Visitors: 142,754
Number of Visits: 240,241

Year 2019

Unique Visitors: 121,071
Number of Visits: 228,379

SOCIAL MEDIA

The Forum continues to grow its presence on social media and use these platforms to disseminate its knowledge products, videos and publications to an ever-expanding audience.

Forum online traffic, which includes social media accounts, increased significantly in 2019-20. The social media audience grew from 1,630,749 visitors in 2018-19 to 5,982,535 in 2019-20. This was certainly due in part to an increase in investment in campaigns promoting Forum research, papers, and publications.

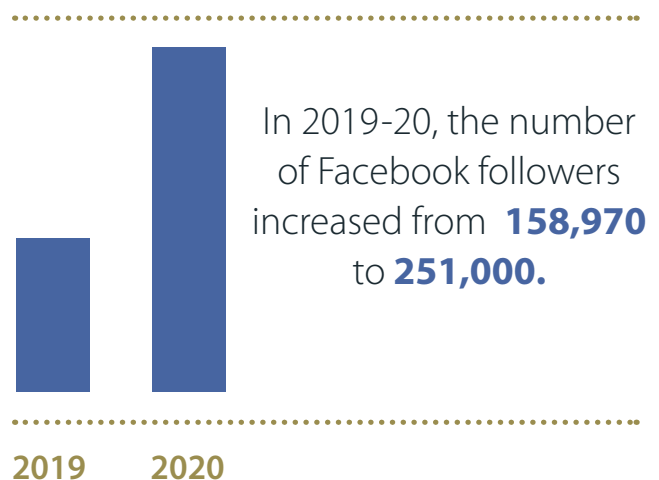
Twitter:

The twitter audience doubled to over 4,000 followers as of the end of fiscal year 2020. This audience includes key government officials, embassies, other non-profit organizations, and key institutional operatives. In addition, there has been a steady growth in the number of university students studying governance.

Facebook:

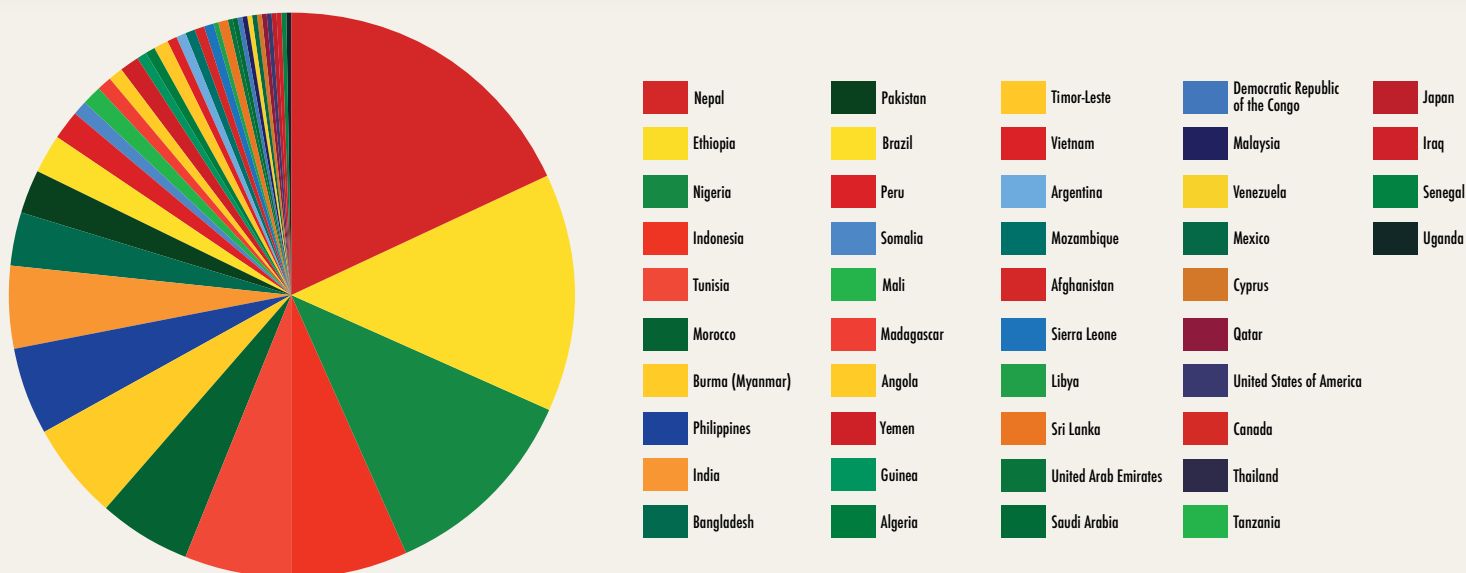
Main Page

The size of the Forum's Facebook audience and engagement grew in 2019-20. The audience consists primarily of members of civil society from regions or countries in which federalism and devolved governance is viewed as a potential solution to day-to-day governance challenges.



FORUM OF FEDERATIONS FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS

MAIN PAGE | 251,000+ | MEN 69% | WOMEN 31%



Country	Followers
Nepal.....	46,170
Ethiopia.....	35,319
Nigeria.....	29,344
Indonesia.....	17,548
Tunisia.....	15,108
Morocco.....	13,917
Burma (Myanmar).....	13,874
Philippines.....	12,879
India.....	11,804
Bangladesh.....	7,791
Pakistan.....	6,513
Brazil.....	5,772
Jordan.....	5,260
Peru.....	4,197
Somalia.....	2,540
Mali.....	2,414
Madagascar.....	2,360
Angola.....	2,297
Yemen.....	2,189
Guinea.....	1,943
Algeria.....	1,575
Timor-Leste.....	1,525
Vietnam.....	1,487

Country	Followers
Argentina.....	1,441
Mozambique.....	1,432
Afghanistan.....	1,416
Sierra Leone.....	1,360
Libya.....	1,260
Sri Lanka.....	886
United Arab Emirates.....	876
Saudi Arabia.....	875
Democratic Republic of the Congo.....	810
Malaysia.....	794
Venezuela.....	759
Mexico.....	710
Cyprus.....	594
Qatar.....	476
United States of America.....	454
Canada.....	410
Thailand.....	409
Tanzania.....	407
Japan.....	403
Iraq.....	400
Senegal.....	361
Uganda.....	353

FORUM OF FEDERATIONS MENA FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS

45,000 | WOMEN 58% | MEN 42%



Morocco.....	28,859
Tunisia	19,389
Jordan	4,787
France	128
Ethiopia.....	109
Spain	75

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT THE FORUM OF FEDERATIONS

"The Forum project assisted my work as a federal official involved in intergovernmental relations."

"The techniques and tools that I learned in Forum trainings are a cognitive and educational kit that enable me to conduct training workshops."

"The various publications of the Forum offer extremely useful sources for my own research."

"[As a consequence of my increased understanding of governance] I was able to join a community radio [station] to share my knowledge and awareness."

"The Forum of Federations work is extremely useful in the field of international cooperation. Its approach is sensitive to the realities of partner countries and incorporates a concern for gender issues which is of great value."

"I [have] learned that becoming a woman leader is not impossible and that we can achieve our dreams by working hard for them and developing our skills."

"I lead discussions on issues of federalism at the community level, the knowledge gained from the Forum for Federation workshop was useful in shaping my perspectives on key concepts of federalism and governance in Somalia."

"I regularly cite FOF publications in my work — both when writing policy briefs for the think tank I work for and in more scholarly-orientated papers."

ANNUAL REPORT



Forum of Federations

The Global Network on Federalism and Devolved Governance

FORUM OF FEDERATIONS

75 ALBERT STREET
SUITE 411 OTTAWA, ONTARIO
CANADA K1P 5E7

FORUMFED.ORG